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1922-1995



**THE FUTURE OF HEALTH CARE**  
A SPECIAL MACLEAN'S POLL

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 13, 1995 \$3.50

# Maclean's

## WILL HE OR WON'T HE?



**Lucien  
Bouchard  
weighs family  
life and his  
moment in  
history**

.....  
**Canadians  
respond  
to the  
Quebec  
referendum**





## A MOMENT IN THE LIFE OF A CAR COMPANY

6:50 pm 657

AN HOUR, TWO MONTHS later the rendezvous is a work in advance. They'd confirmed it again the night before. Frank arrives first, followed by Joe, and then Philip. Victor, however, is nowhere to be found.

They wait. In the meantime, they start piling everything they'll need into Frank's 960 Wagon. It takes a few minutes—there's a fair amount of stuff. But still, no sign of Victor.

The tension mounts. Finally, when they just can't wait any longer, as the car is actually pulling away from the curb, Victor comes tearing around the corner.

"Sorry I'm late," he says nonchalantly. "I couldn't find my shoes. I looked everywhere—under the bed, behind the radiator, even the medicine cabinet, just couldn't find 'em."

This is too much for Frank to bear.

"You looked for your shoes in the medicine cabinet?"

"We're sitting here for half an hour like three chairs, and you're looking for your shoes in the medicine cabinet?"



This is just the beginning. Traffic slows them to nearly a halt.

A detour takes them two miles out of their way. By now the tension is so thick you couldn't even cut it with a knife. Then, it happens.

"I hate my squinting flower bouquet," Philip realizes.

The squinting flower. The oldest gag in the book. Philip brings it everywhere they go, despite unmeasurable attempts to persuade him otherwise. It is a deadly subject.

Maybe it's the stress of being late, or maybe he's just not thinking, but when Victor hears about Philip's flower, he says the worst possible thing anyone could say: "Good." Inside, he frowns. An emotion. By its death, chaos reigns.

But just as everything is about to fall apart, just as the whole plan is in jeopardy, they arrive at their destination:

The Children's Hospital.

They unload the gifts from the back of the Volvo, and four elbows begin clanking and laughing through a roomful of beaming kids.

It's difficult to remember anything else about the day. Drive safely.

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CANADIAN WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
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## Will he or won't he?

**14** Bloc Quebecois Leader Lucien Bouchard faces what he acknowledges will be a painful choice: whether to take over from Jacques Parizeau as premier of Quebec and put further strains on his young family, or leave politics and walk away from the dream of independence. Parizeau's announcement that he intends to step down as premier came immediately after the cliffhanger referendum vote—and as Canadians were still trying to come to grips with the changes ahead.

## Condition critical

**46** A special *Maclean's*/Medical Post/Argus Reid poll on the state of Canadian health care reveals a growing pessimism about the system's ability to deliver quality care in the future. The survey of both doctors and their patients also shows that the two groups hold surprising views on a range of issues, from the adequacy of physicians' salaries to whether they are seeing patients unnecessarily in order to boost their incomes.



## A martyr to peace

**26** He was his country's most revered war hero, who late in life transformed himself into its top soldier for peace: Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Nobel Prize-winner and survivor of four wars with the Arabs, was killed in the end by a lone Jew. His death on Saturday left questions about the future of the Middle East peace process.



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# Men In Suits, Beware

**H**ere come those men in suits again—plus a female Deputy Prime Minister—screaming and yelling about ascending ferretulas and opting out and distinct society and jurisprudence and parliamentarism. Enough, already. Enough.

The people of Canada are not all the men in suits—and the ascending female Deputy Prime Minister—and just want them all to take a Valium and go away for six months. Perhaps to Slovakia, or Slovenia or some other land that could use their negotiating skills and their tact and their way with words. The people of Canada are not going to take it any more. The men in suits almost lost the country on Oct. 30 and, on the evidence of one short week, they are determined to finish the job in the next.

But the people of Canada should not let them. They should realize, in the spirit that brought Canadians together, as rarely before, in the closing days of the referendum. The most dramatic symbol of people power was the giant rally in Montreal, which attracted citizens from all parts of the country in a rare display of love and affection for Canada. The cynics say that it simply made English-Canadians feel better, or that it was too late, too late. But looking at the strength of the federalist vote in some of Montreal's east-end ridings—actually, a higher percentage than in 1980—it seems the rally may have saved the federalist cause.

What became clear is that people across Canada were terrified that they could lose their country. Yet, they after the Quebec referendum, the men in suits—and the female Deputy Prime Minister—are back at each other's throats, calling each other names, enacting tired positions, invoking the same rhetoric of stalemate that brought Canada to the brink on Oct. 30. It is a level of political discourse befitting a sewer. The men in suits—and the Deputy Prime Minister—are mind in Old Think. When in doubt, they resort to the same old solutions they have not worked for the 25 years in which they have been repeating constitutional reform. They are playing the same old tapes.

What the men in suits have failed to notice is that they no longer lead the parade. They are now pulling up the rear, following leopards

of so-called average—sometimes called ordinary—Canadians. Now that the people are leading the men in suits, the problem becomes how to marshal a passionate desire to keep Canada together, while making the changes that will keep Canada together.

A modest proposal: the politicians should declare a two-month moratorium on the subject. It is time to stop playing the old tapes. In that period of calm, Lucien Bouchard can sort out with Audrey Bess, his wife, whether he is going to go after the job of Quebec premier or just family life first. And English Canada can begin to mobilize for what surely will be another challenge from the separatists in the next year.

For starters, there should be a series of citizens' conventions, organized by local communities—not lobby groups—to start talking about the future of the country. Quebec's demands will not go away, and the call for reform is rising in all provinces. People representing various points of view could be brought together under the auspices of the Governor General (an association with the upholders of the various legislative assemblies), whose offices could lead organizational know-how to the process. The gatherings could be moderated by trusted members of the community, recognized for their fairness, and staged at facilities provided by universities or corporations.

The size of the first stage should not be grand: we need to talk, people to people. We need to air some grudges that were buried so by the big order imposed on English Canada during the referendum. We need to program some new tapes. Then, perhaps, some solutions may surface. The long-term goal would be to demonstrate to the men in suits that the people are prepared to make changes to save their country. Then, perhaps, the men in suits would be emboldened to try some new solutions. It may be a quiet action, better the people have their say. But the men in suits have lost their right to carry on with business as usual.

*Robert Louis*

## Newsroom Notes:

**THE MACLEAN'S POLL:** The future of the health-care system is a major national concern. To explore the mood of doctors—and their patients—Maclean's joined with the Maclean-Hunter weekly *The Medical Post* and commissioned a major survey by the Angus Reid Group. An Assistant Managing Editor Michael Benedek, who oversaw the poll package, notes: "The results clearly show that while Canadians have confidence in the system now, they are in-

creasingly pessimistic about its ability to deliver quality care in the near future. It also reveals strikingly wide gaps in the public's and doctors' perceptions on a range of issues." Contributor Michael Pooner wrote most of the cover package, with reports from Maclean's bureaus across the country. Halifax Bureau Chief John DeMoss also reported on

the chaos separating doctors and patients. Assistant Art Director John Boney designed the charts and layouts.

**UNIVERSITY RANKINGS:** The special annual survey returns next week, with more universities than last year participating, 40 pages of charts and articles, including a lengthy report on where the jobs are for the graduates of tomorrow.



Benedek: a poll of perceptions

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# THE REFERENDUM RESULT: Our Readers' Views

Even before the polls closed on referendum night, Maclean's received the first letter to the editor on that historic vote. Closely speaking from the heart in a fit, Jean-Claude Schane of Anjou, Que., outlined the reasons why he had reluctantly voted No. Later, at 2:20 a.m., Royce Bennett of Toronto—expressing his love for Canada—was among the first to e-mail us his reaction. A steady stream of handwritten and e-mailed letters and e-mail continued throughout the week. A sampling:

I am a 63-year-old Québécois, part of the silent majority I would like to express my frustration at having been led to vote No. I wanted to vote Yes because I am very unhappy with the way Québec has been treated by English Canada. I wanted to vote Yes because I believe that 80 per cent of English-Canadian hate the fact that bilingualism was forced upon them because of Québec. I wanted to vote Yes because I know that bilingualism does not work. And I wanted to vote Yes because I do not believe one-third of what the politicians for the No side told me. Yes, my heart told me to vote Yes. But I said to myself, it is right to let only my emotions rule in making such an important decision. I voted No because I do not believe one-third of what the politicians for the Yes side told me. There were too many unanswered questions. You probably think that common sense and logic was overruled. You are wrong. The reason I voted No is that I am a coward.

Jean-Claude Schane,  
Anjou, Que.

Like many non-Canadian fans of Canada, I breathed a sigh of relief when the Yes was the referendum. Language and culture have always been divisive, but Canadians have



Bouchard and wife Audrey Bouchard: relieved, but cautious

tried very hard to make it less so. Those who want to maintain the difference are living in a past that has nowhere to go in economic times.

Mary J. Mayer,  
London, Ont.

What I have learned in this latest round of the sovereignty debate is that Canada is worth preserving. It wouldn't be a nation as beautiful as my dad that I wouldn't want.

Roger Bennett,  
Toronto, Ont.

I want to feel happy and relieved, but I am resentful and angry. I watched Lucien Bouchard and Robert Bourassa, my anger. There, standing in front of a camera, was an intelligent, charismatic man who had just led my beautiful, peaceful, prosperous and toler-

ant country to the brink of disaster. How dare he attempt to break up and destroy the best country in the world? Quebecers, you are standing on the edge—climb back and hold before you let these dream weavers try to convince you to jump again.

T.P. Haines,  
Tasluke, N.S.

Lucie Bouchard may scoff at her last-as-her-oldest days of emotion, flocking to Montreal in droves, rubbing in our home towns, writing, taping and phoning our leaders. He said that it was too little, too late. As a Quebecer living outside of Quebec, as proud as you, I prefer to think it's the beginning of some huge anger and better than we ever imagined.

Kerry Nelson,  
St. Catharines, Ont.

The Quebec referendum should not have been allowed to happen. By back and the grace of God, the separatists lost this time. The separatist is never again. Any state that is not prepared to defend its borders does not deserve to exist. We need a government in Ottawa that will stand up for Canada. The federal government should dissolve all referendums now.

Robert D. Grier,  
Saskatoon

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# OPENING NOTES



Accusing long-missing battle horses: a 30-year delay

lines," recalls Donald Mann, 75, then a major in command of a rifle company. "The German soldiers we encountered refused to surrender, even though their arms were in mass slaughter." The Lacols and Mollat Regiments suffered heavy losses. But for the past 30 years, it takes in these battles were accompanied. The regiment submitted a claim after the war for 18 battle horses. It listed 16 instances on the front of the page—and two on the back. A clerk who typed the claim before putting it in to the Canadian Army's Battle Honors Committee did not turn the paper over, and caused the claims for the Kananis and Hatz Zwickel's battles. The regiment duly received 16 battle horses, for recognition of a unit's participation in exceptionally hard-fought battles. It was not until 1996 that the oversight was discovered, when a historian found the original slip of paper in the National Archives. Late last month, the National Defence Headquarters finally awarded the St. Catharines, Ont.-based regiment two new battle horses under "My only regret," says Mr. Adams, president of the Lacols and Mollat Regimental Association, "is that many of the men who helped earn these honors have already passed on."



Make Murray: 'They'll go along'

## The coast guard lightens up

When arbitrators showed the Canadian Coast Guard to start offering breakfast fare to its crew, the ship's cooks were dubious. They feared a mutiny if they tried serving ginger-and-coriander salsas to sailors used to hearty standard potboiler meals. In 1991, officials at Transport Canada, the federal department responsible for the Coast Guard, requested the food sciences department at Kennerly College of Agricultural Technology, south of Ottawa, for help. As a class assignment, students developed 40 healthy recipes for modifying such old-fashioned meals, accepted a pilot test and found that it wasn't enough to develop new recipes," says Arlene Strider, an instructor at the college. "We had to educate the cooks, too." The college prepared a four-week seminar course covering nutrition, sanitation and cooking techniques, which 40 of the Coast Guard's cooks have taken so far. Many of the service's ships now offer a choice between a traditional dish and a lighter course. And despite the cook's earlier mutiny, the new fare has become the most popular choice, says Mike Murray, cook for the St. Lawrence coast guard cutter in the Saginaw. "If you're not a good crew with open minds, they'll go along with you."

As Canadian companies jumped on the party bandwagon before last week's Quebec referendum vote, B.C. Tel offered two-credit calls to customers who wanted to phone Quebecers to encourage them to stay in Canada. About 55,000 British Columbians took advantage of the deal on Oct. 29—more than five times the usual number of callers to Quebec on a Sunday. Just one problem: B.C. Tel did not have CRTC approval, and the federal regulatory agency has since ruled that the offer contravened Quebec's referendum legislation. Facing a hefty fine, B.C. Tel has had to charge about \$1.66 per minute for the calls after Oct. 31, an offering rebuffed to anyone who asks for one. Said a company spokesman: "We just don't feel callers should be rewarded."

## Reach out and touch someone—part 1

And the landline numbers are in for the national television audience for the referendum coverage on the night of Oct. 30: it is shaping up to be a record-setting 15-year-old channel. According to A.G. Nielson Co., nearly 60 million viewers tuned in to CBC-TV, CBC Newsweek and CTV. And when the numbers of viewers who watched Global and a variety of English- and French-language cable channels become available later this month, the tally is likely to beat the record 67 million who watched the Toronto Blue Jays with the 1992 World Series.



Dejected You voters: high ratings

## Reach out and touch someone—part 2

Every time a new technology comes along there is a good chance that the makers and consumers of pornography will be among the first to try it out. Witness the popularity of videotext, which has become a serious offering level. Images and stories. Now it is happening with the latest in 3-D entertainment. Los Angeles-based Virtual Media Systems Inc. is selling a new home video system that shows three-dimensional images. A viewer wears liquid-crystal electronic glasses hooked up to a standard VCR with a special adapter. The head 3-D videos and special glasses pairs

prizes separate two slightly different images in the video to create the 3-D effect.

The first results for just under \$800, and there are so far just two videos available—mainly for the hardcore market. Swedish film and video store owner whose names speak volumes about their skills. But a spokesman for Virtual Media's Canadian distributor says that sales have been "phenomenal." Tony Virendra, president of marketing and sales for Montreal-based Videodream Inc., declined to give numbers, but he said that both his multi-video store chains and store-and-go experiences have ordered units. Virtual Media's president Mark Adams says the system is selling a new home video system that shows three-dimensional images. A viewer wears liquid-crystal electronic glasses hooked up to a standard VCR with a special adapter. The head 3-D videos and special glasses pairs



Edited by BARBARA WICKHAM

# PASSAGES

**REAPPEARING:** Saskatchewan's former Robert Latimer, 62, to the Supreme Court of Canada. His second-degree murder conviction in the October, 1989, killing of his severely handicapped 12-year-old daughter, Tracy. His appeal is based on two grounds: that an accumulating statement he gave police before his arrest should have been read to him, and that the prosecution interfered with jurors who heard the case. In September, Saskatchewan Justice Department officials, who now agree Latimer deserves a new trial, revealed that the Crown ordered the RCMP to secretly question prospective jurors on their attitudes towards mercy killing. Some of those questioned turned out to be juror Latimer, who was charged his daughter's death as a mercy killing, received a life sentence with no chance of parole for 30 years, the minimum sentence under the charge.

**RETRIEVED:** Brian Cooles, 67, best known as Mr. Dremur, more than 30 years after developing the popular children's television character and his Tickle Trunk Cooles will tape his last program for the CBC next February, but will continue to do concert tours after that.

**DISMISSED:** Royal Winkling Ballet artistic director William Whitmore, 64, two years after becoming head of Canada's oldest ballet troupe. The board cited personality and artistic differences with the former dancer and head of Les Ballets Jazz de Montreal.

**ORDERED EXHUMED:** Former NZS captain Erich Priebke, 82, from Argentina, where he was a requested bomber for nearly 50 years, to Italy where he faces war crimes charges. It is a result of the 1984 massacre of 335 Jews and men by a 63-year-old Argentine Supreme Court in Buenos Aires. Priebke's acknowledgment of his involvement in the incident earlier this year in an Argentine television interview led to the extradition request.

## Remembrance of times past

In the final weeks of the Second World War, the Lacols and Mollat Regiments were still in the heat of battle—including two fierce struggles for which they are only now being recognized. In April, 1945, they were part of the 18th Infantry Brigade of the 1st Canadian Armoured Division during the campaign of Rastatt Canal and Bad Zwickel in northwestern Germany. "Fighting was very in-

### PASSIONS

## 'Doctor to the dead'

John (Jack) Murray has dedicated his working life to medicine. From 1985 to 1990, he was dean of medicine at Dalhousie University in Halifax, where he is still a professor of medical humanities. He is also director of the Dalhousie Medical School Research Unit and runs it in his spare time. Murray, 57, keeps his focus on things medical, although with a twist: he tries to figure out what doctors afflicted themselves and how they died. Murray talked to Maclean's about his unusual hobby.

My major interest is medical history in the past, and that is looking at diseases in the past, and people have picked up on that, calling me some sort of "doctor to the dead." I've looked mostly at literary people because one can often determine lots about them from their writings. If you re-



John Murray: what ails the ghosts of history?

search someone in enough detail, you can find enough evidence using modern medical diagnosis to know

more about them than you know, what they lived. If you know what their problem was, that gives you a better understanding of them and their work. Dr. Samuel Johnson had 38 illnesses that I can determine, including Tourette's syndrome, a nervous disorder characterized by twitches and uncontrollable outbursts. I've looked at Shakespeare and his epilepsy; every one of his novels had an epileptic in it. Thomas Jefferson suffered from cluster migraines, which are severe, short-lived and then go away for years. The intense pain would make Jefferson so agitated that he would turn to raving about for relief, usually horseback riding.

## POP MOVIES

Sp. shown in Canada according to box office numbers during the week that ended on Nov. 2 (in millions of tickets, week showing)

1. *Bel Shazzar* (Dolby) ...\$1,200,000
2. *Powder* (Dolby) ...\$1,000,000
3. *Beavis and Butt-Head* (Dolby) ...\$800,000
4. *Geometry* (Dolby) ...\$750,000
5. *Wings in the Sky* (Dolby) ...\$650,000
6. *Now and Then* (Dolby) ...\$600,000
7. *Three Men in a Boat* (Dolby) ...\$550,000
8. *The Sea* (Dolby) ...\$500,000
9. *The Scarlet Letter* (Dolby) ...\$450,000
10. *Now in Motion* (Dolby) ...\$400,000

Source: Exhibitor Relations Inc.

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

1. *The Giver* (Penguin), James Deardorff (2)
2. *The Merchant of Venice*, David Gribble (2)
3. *A Fine Old World*, John Deardorff (2)
4. *Crime to Grace*, John Deardorff (2)
5. *The Island of the Day Before*, John Deardorff (2)
6. *The Best of Friends*, James Deardorff (2)
7. *The Last World*, John Deardorff (2)
8. *The People*, John Deardorff (2)
9. *Animal Farm*, George Orwell (2)
10. *The Book of David*, George Orwell (2)

Source: Publishers Weekly

### NONFICTION

1. *Notes from a Small Island*, John Deardorff (2)
2. *The Merchant of Venice*, David Gribble (2)
3. *One Flew Over a Cuckoo's Nest*, John Deardorff (2)
4. *In the Name of the Lord*, John Deardorff (2)
5. *My Father*, John Deardorff (2)
6. *My Father*, John Deardorff (2)
7. *The Father of the Lord*, John Deardorff (2)
8. *Notes from a Small Island*, John Deardorff (2)
9. *Notes from a Small Island*, John Deardorff (2)
10. *Notes from a Small Island*, John Deardorff (2)

Source: Publishers Weekly

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What Matters in Canada

## ANOTHER VIEW



# Harnessing the new Canadian nationalism

BY CHARLES GORDON

Two unexpected votes broke eloquently to us above the referendum night. One of them belonged to Louise Boudreau, Quebec minister of international affairs. "Don't just leave it," she said. "You can't change us."

The other belonged to Preston Manning, leader of the Reform party. "Tonight," he said, "I hope that five close ones in Quebec have awakened a sleeping giant—the giant of Canadian nationalism—and will fill that giant with an inseparable resolve to build a better country for all who are proud to be called Canadian."

He was right. To the extent that the day was won, nationalism helped push the No side over the top. A Canadian nationalism that included Quebec edged out the narrow or nationless of the separatist forces. The politicians and officials, rehearsing their constitutional competencies for an anticipated round of federal-provincial stippling, should remember that.

Boudreau, while calling for tangible evidence of the Rest of Canada's respect, still clearly recognized that something had happened in the days leading up to the referendum. There had been a tangible demonstration of love. It may have changed everything, and could change a lot more.

Until three days before the referendum, a lot of us, middle-aged and politically weary, sat back behind it all. It had been done before. The arguments were not new. We thought it had been settled. Now this. Just get it over with, we thought, perhaps lulled by the early polls it's not our battle.

It took a huge gang of young Canadians to make us realize it was. Whoever started it, it is impossible not to be impressed by the size, emotion, patriotism and youth of the crowd that jammed in Montreal three days before the referendum. Lucien Bouchard can matter all he wants about federalist plots, the illegality of discount airlines and

*Ordinary people took the initiative in a heartfelt, completely unsophisticated way with no talk of the effects on the dollar or the constitutional options*

such, but it is obvious that neither, no matter how evenly matched, could have produced such a result without the enthusiastic participation of ordinary people.

Two questions arise: where did it come from, and how can Canada use it? A partial answer to the first question is that it comes from a place no federalist politician has been able to locate for at least the last decade, perhaps a quarter century in a way, a canvas that the same place as the expression of the Charlottetown accord—the place where the people all the politicians "let out of the way. We want to say something."

The politicians have never figured out where that is. Because Canadians have traditionally been a respectful and trusting people. The politicians, from Trudeau to Mulroney to Chrétien, have not been able to resist the temptation to tell the people "Just stand aside. We'll look after this one."

It backfired severely in the federal referendum on the Charlottetown accord, when the people, fleeing all the pretence and the traditional party leaders on the same side, decided to go over to the other side.

There was a lesson to be learned from that

and Jean Chrétien forgot it at the first major test. You will recall him going out into the BNC during the early, more encouraging days of the referendum campaign. His polls clearly favouring the No side, and saying: Thanks for leaving us out. Just keep quiet a little longer and everything will be fine.

When everything wasn't, the people took back the initiative. They did it in a heartfelt, completely unsophisticated way, with no talk of the effects on the dollar or the constitutional options, the international implications. They just talked, in the words of the separatist anthem, of love.

The second question, then, is where did it come from, this unadvised love of country? Canada, to be sure, has been good to young people, as it has been good to everyone, engaged with other countries of the world. Still, as generations go, those under 30 have less to be grateful for than their well-off and somehow more cynical elders. They have been born into a world of shrinking opportunity, more in school in perilous classrooms, financial rising costs and closing doors at university and entered a world in which employers are not hiring. Despite all this, they will arise before dawn to get to Montreal and stand with 100,000 others and roar their love of country. What did we do to deserve them, and how do we honor them?

To answer that is also to answer the question, how do we keep the country together? It has nothing to do with the constitution. It has everything to do with hope. Hope is opportunity, opportunity is jobs, good ones, in business, in the arts, in government. Creating opportunity is how we will young Canadians that we love them, love them more, even, than we love balance sheets.

The idea of a country staying together, as we now see it, is more than an economic question—it is a question. The Yes forces knew that and the No forces didn't. Yet the emotion was there for all, waiting to be called upon.

Behind the emotion, clearly, are practical considerations. This country works, to the extent that it does, partly because some practical people made sense that we have roads and telephones and carpenters and schools and hospitals. The flag that so many waved and wore and had painted on their faces, in fact, square in Montreal could not have existed without a government. (Cleverly, P. Weisberg and a bearded head-wearing the House of Commons. Still, the emotion that will save us comes from something deeper, something the bats do and their children will have to learn to feel again.)

We would be very surprised if Canada is saved by new constitutional mechanisms, by adjustments in the federal arrangement. What will save Canada is young Canadians working for it. We have seen that, somehow, young Canadians still have a love of country. We may even have seen, in these referendum hours, that they are capable of spending it. Can we now create a country that is worthy of them?

If so, can it, will they together



# WILL HORROR WON'T HE?



## Lucien Bouchard faces a crucial choice

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

**A**t first in the House of Commons last week, it seemed that all the major players in the Quebec referendum had decided to go back to the future and behave as though one of the most divisive campaigns in Canada's history never happened. On the day after Monday's vote, the three major parties tried, for the most part, not to mention the *Réferendum*. Instead, they adopted familiar poses: the Bloc Québécois accused the Liberals of sabotaging social programs and ignoring Quebec; the Liberals heckled back; and the Reform party complained of being ignored by the other two parties. But one week's end, the polite remarks dropped and the anger and tension on all sides became evident: Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps accused Bloc Leader Lucien Bouchard of supporting racist policies; two Bloc MPs who called her a "tart" were expelled from the Commons; and Reform Leader Manning in a speech outside Parliament, blamed Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to Neville Chamberlain, the British prime minister who sought to appease the Nazis.

Such was life in the center-leave-neo-politic new postreferendum world, in which the clearest sign is an adrenergic marky line in that sociogrammer knew a new slogan: at first you don't decide, try, try again. In the wake of an agonistically close federalist victory that saw the Yes and No sides divided by a single percentage point, sovereignty fans, after their initial surge of disappointment, agonize both lauded and renewed by the campaign. Within Quebec, the only questions re-

maining are how, and how quickly, the Parti Québécois will try again, and who will lead the fight. Some of the possibilities that sovereigntist strategists were discussing last week included either another referendum or a second election referendum, and the timetable for either could range from a minimum of six months from now to a maximum of two years.

In the wake of Premier Jacques Parizeau's resignation (page 12), most strategists in both federalist and sovereigntist circles expected Bouchard to succeed him. That belief—shared, at first, in Ottawa and kept in the sovereigntist side—came free despite Bouchard's announcement that he has not yet made up his mind whether to return in politics. "It is impossible for him to quit now," said a senior Bloc adviser. "It would kill our last great chance." The sense of theater, such as it is, will continue until Nov. 30, when Bouchard is to announce his decision after he returns from a holiday in the United States with his wife, Audrey Best, and their two young sons. In Ottawa, he acknowledged that he lacks a difficult decision between his commitment to politics and his attachment to his young family. "I can be for a personal crossroad in my life," he said in a revealing news conference.

Outside the province, the depressing reality is that the rest of Canada appears even more divided on the issue of how to deal with Quebec than it was before the referendum. The response from provinces was twofold, and for the most part, entirely predictable: now and the need to accommodate Quebec conditionally should be accompanied by giving all the provinces developed new powers. "This is not solely about what Quebec desires in a constitutional way

[but] what all Canadians want," said Alberta's Ralph Klein at the end of a three-day meeting of western premiers in Yorkville, Sask. Similarly, Ontario Premier Mike Harris said that he does not regard new constitutional talks as a priority despite the closeness of the Quebec vote: 50.6 per cent No, 49.4 per cent Yes. And Ovide Mercredi, chief of the Assembly of First Nations, said native peoples oppose decentralization, and promised to fight any attempt to recognize Quebec as a distinct society unless it is accompanied by similar recognition for aboriginals. Any meeting to discuss decentralization that took place without input from natives, Mercredi told Mercredi, "would include us again—and be the Meech all over"—a reference to the constitutional accord that failed in 1990.

Those and other similar hesitations concerning Quebec's traditional constitutional demands run counter to the ingrained practices of solidarity that many Canadians expressed, towards the province in the last days of the campaign—and underline the complexity of the task that lies ahead for Chrétien. For one thing, it is not even clear what would be the best format for achieving consensus among other Canadians on what, if anything, to offer Quebec. Some transfers of federal powers to the provinces can be made

**■** *Chrétien at Liberal fund raising dinner in Toronto: Bouchard with his wife, Audrey Best (left); anger and tension on all sides*



through administrative agreements. But others would require a full-blown constitutional meeting, and the consent of the federal government and all 10 provinces. "We do not," said a Chrétien adviser, "think there is any desire at all in the country for that kind of event in the near future." And even in the unlikely event that such a meeting was held and an agreement was achieved, some provinces, such as Manitoba's Gary Filmon, suggested they might then feel obliged to hold a referendum to decide whether to accept the result. And some other leaders, such as Newfoundland's Clyde Wells, have suggested that, instead of a meeting of first ministers, it might be preferable to have a constituent assembly, which would bring together both elected and unelected Canadians to discuss change. Chrétien told the Commons that he has "no intention" of doing that, or of reviving the terms of the failed Meech Lake or Charlottetown accords for further discussion.

All that is only the beginning—and comes precisely when Chrétien was hoping to restore Canadian of the steel for a new round of government spending cuts. Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy, for one, has been intending to table a plan reforming and reducing the size of some government social programs, such as unemployment insurance, in late November. But the narrowness of the Liberal side's reformers was any other cause necessary to postpone introducing the plan—which is already be-

hind schedule—or how to proceed from within the Liberal caucus to reduce the size of projected cuts. But reductions in social program spending are key to Finance Minister Paul Martin's efforts to cut about \$4 billion in his February budget—and Martin insisted last week that those plans remain unchanged.

**A** point that backdrop Chrétien must now also develop his efforts and diminished popularity in selling the country on a new constitutional strategy. But first, he must convince members of his own caucus. Even before the referendum campaign, some of the more left-leaning Liberal MPs were upset by plans to reduce the size of the unemployment insurance program, and by any discussion of transferring responsibility for social programs to the provinces. Shortly before the campaign began, some senior Liberals urged the government to transfer full responsibility for care-power training—a traditional Quebec demand—to the provinces. But it backfired because of opposition from a group within caucus that included Atlantic MPs, as well as Assembly New, the idea has again been revived. Some Liberal strategists suggest that doing so would show a concrete gesture of goodwill—and consolidate an offer that the PQ government could not refuse.

Although support among Liberals for that idea is by no means unanimous, it still poses less of a problem for Chrétien than the thorny issue of how to deal with two specific grievances he made to Quebecers in the final weeks of the referendum. On several occasions before the vote, he reported his support for the notion of formally recognizing Quebec as a distinct society, and vowed, still, as Prime Minister, he will never allow any constitutional changes that would affect the province without its consent. But Quebec Bédard, such as potential Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson, went these measures strengthened in a statement that as an ally he will be acceptable to other provinces like and other members of his party, for ex-

*The best way to reach consensus on change is far from clear*



people would a recognition of "ethnic society"—or a similar expression referring to the "people of Quebec"—included in the Constitution. Charbon has suggested that such recognition might come in the form of a resolution in the House of Commons—which would not, in the long term, be enough to satisfy Quebec Liberals. Similarly, they want the province to be granted a formal role over all future constitutional changes, which is also something that would require a joint meeting with leaders of all provinces. That meeting, which is also very popular in other provinces, will likely not be discussed until 1997, when the federal government and provinces are required to meet to discuss the amending formula under the terms of the Constitution.

On the sovereigntist side, that same meeting provides a place for the main arguments facing sovereigntists for delaying another referendum. A poll conducted among Quebecers in the wake of the referendum vote by the 50th company for the newspaper *Le Soleil* and Radio-Québec found that 69 per cent of respondents think that the Quebec government should conduct another referendum during an mandate if constitutional talks with the rest of Canada fail. Thirty-one per cent opposed the idea, while the rest were undecided. Perhaps more significantly, the same poll found that 75 per cent of respondents—including 74 per cent of those who voted Yes—want the PQ government to participate in any talks aimed at "renewing the Canadian federation."

These results highlight the phantasmagoric nature of the current political strategies. Those who are pushing for a delay argue that, given the indecision in the rest of the country, any attempt at serious offers will self-destruct and convince Quebecers that renewed federation is impossible. "All we have to do," said a Yes organizer, "is wait." As well, those favouring a delay argue that they risk a backlash if they ask Quebecers—who have faced two Constitution-related referendums, a federal election and a provincial election in the past three years—to go back to the polls once again. And the terms

of Quebec's Referendum Act prevent a government from holding more than one plebiscite on the same issue during the same mandate—so the PQ would have to take the controversial step of changing the act or waiting a new mandate before doing so.

But other sovereigntist argue that there are compelling reasons to move soon, including the need to capitalize on the momentum they have generated. That pressure would certainly increase if Bouchard takes over the leadership. Until now Bloc success has been due, in part, to extraordinary popularity has been helped by the fact that, as an opposition politician, he has not had to make the tough decisions that will be required of the next Quebec premier. Sovereigntists concede that the next Quebec budget, due in April, 1996, will have to contain tough spending cuts in order to reduce the province's deficit, which totalled

respective and other personalities not previously associated with the party. As well, he would likely try to convert Mario Dumoulin, leader of the ultra-conservative Parti action démocratique, to the PQ.

But those plans hinge on Bouchard's making a decision that, he said last week, will be "terribly painful"—whatever way it goes. At a news conference in Ottawa, he talked emotionally of the strains that political life puts on his family and said that his two sons, Alexandre, 5, and Simon, 4, hate the word "referendum" because they associate it with his mother's absence. "They've learned the word 'referendum,'" he said. "They hate it. They get when they pronounce it." Similarly during the campaign, he talked sadly about how one of his sons, when asked what his father does for a living, said "the argon."

Bouchard, 56, also spoke openly about the pressures on his from his 35-year-old second wife, Annette, who was born in California and has never been comfortable with his husband's life in politics. "It's well known that my wife is not easy on state politics," he said. "We had an agreement that everything would be done by the end of the year. It's different, of course. It's a never-ending fight in politics." Souffrant next his wife in 1993, when he was Canada's ambassador to France, and married her two years later. But in recent years, there have been frequent rumors that their marriage has been strained—rumors that Bouchard has emphatically denied.

How much of a difference would Bouchard's absence from the political scene make for Canada's future? Even the suggestion that he might arrive was enough last week to cause the Canadian dollar to jump by a third of a cent to 74.4 cents (U.S.). But with or without him, some sovereigntists are supremely confident because, they say, of a self-secret weapon they are sure they can rely on. "The rest of Canada will never make a proposal good enough to satisfy Quebec," said a Bloc adviser. "Not in a million years." The clock is ticking.

With WARREN CARRAGATA and E. ARNE FLYNN in Ottawa and MARY JAMMAN in Toronto

## Separatists believe the rest of Canada will never offer enough for Quebec

\$2.7 billion last year. Those measures will be unpopular in themselves—and will diminish the effectiveness of the Yes side's referendum argument that a sovereign Quebec could outspend social programs better than the rest of Canada, where governments have cut back sharply.

If Bouchard takes over the leadership, sovereigntist sources say, some separatist steps are clear. Above all, a massive language-national assembly students who stayed on only to fight the referendum—such as former cabinet ministers Camille Laurin and Denis Laurendeau—must resign and clear the way for new blood. Similarly, about half a dozen members of Johnson's caucus may also leave. That would allow for Bouchard to call up to 15 legislators simultaneously—and likely his most of them. He would use the occasion to invite some of the Bloc's best members to Quebec City with him, such as party whip Gilles Duceppe, and also try to widen the Bloc's popularity by attracting "free-

Street disturbance in Montreal after referendum a murky time



**'This cannot die. It must be harnessed'**

Kathleen Glynn-Morris, 43, a Vancouver housewife with her husband, Rodney, and their four children, John, 15, Caitlin, 14, Sybil, 11, and Alan, 4, flew to Montreal to take part in the rally. Glynn-Morris spoke with correspondent Helen Ayala.

Quebecers we didn't even know were hugging as and saying, 'Thank you for coming here. They couldn't have brought our children along. I have never felt so privileged and responsible. There was a great melting pot of people—cheering, laughing, crying. I was a very emotional person and I was in tears. I'll never forget it in a million years.'

We know now that people power, what we were speaking in the 1980s, really works. Most Canadians recognize that we need to act. Clearly, 150,000 people did not act, for every physical crowd there is, there's one there were 10,000 in spirit. People don't understand people in other regions until they understand their joys, dreams and hardships. The key to unity is at the ordinary person. I've always believed that as strongly as now. Does it take a national crisis to pull it out of us? This cannot die. It must be harnessed.

## AFTER THE VOTE, FRENCH FROM ACROSS THE LAND

**'The referendum is a wake-up call'**

Rev. Larry Chowwack, 43, a Methodist minister from Pickering, Ont., and his 15-year-old son, Andrew, were among the thousands of people from outside Quebec who travelled to Montreal three days before the referendum vote to join the great unity rally in Place du Canada.

He spoke to Senior Writer D'Arcy Jencks after last week's vote.

Being part of the crowd was very special. I spoke to a few individuals who were from Missouri or Tennessee areas. One man, a housewife who was about my age and had his daughter with him, told me "I have been told that the rest of Canada doesn't care. That proves to me that Canada does care." And he started weeping. That really touched me.

I think the referendum is a wake-up call. We have a major problem. It gives us a chance to do the work necessary to deal with these problems and bring back or strengthen the unity of the nation. That is going to be tough because we all know that the Parti Québécois is not going to bargain in good faith. I think we're going to have to incur them. We become under the terms directly society. I think all Canadians would lose a definition of what it means. If it is an acceptable definition, we all defend Quebec. If it means disincorporation of the federal government, then so be it. There needs to be reform, and not just for the sake of Quebecers.

**'We want equality for all'**

Mrs. Dempster, 68, a retired credit manager, went to the Montreal rally from Mississauga, Ont. She was born in Montreal, but left in 1977 after the election of the first Parti Québécois government. She spoke to Senior Writer Peter Chisholm.

The French people themselves are suffering. It's a terrible thing to say but I think the drive is coming from the people at the top—the Bouchards and the Parizes—who want the power. They are talking—talking about parents and grandparents and who they suffer. I felt exultation in the rally. I have never seen so many people feeling so emotional and wanting to let people know how much they cared. And I think it helped.

We want equality for all—why should one province isolate itself from a country that is as strong as Canada? Quebecers are obviously different, they don't have to be told they are a distinct society. Everyone knows it is a French province—that was always the beautiful part of it. It is the elites that are doing that. I don't think the little guy has been the proper information given to him. He's been brainwashed. I'm not sure what the Prime Minister should do, except to keep telling Quebec about the economic consequences of separation. I don't think he should try to appease Quebec with a distinct society clause and a veto. It doesn't matter how much you give Quebec, they always want more.

# Quebec City power plays

BY BARRY CAME

In the swirl of extraordinary events that engulfed Quebec and Canada last week, the episode did not receive the attention it might otherwise have commanded. It happened on referendum day, when Jacques Parizeau agreed to a television interview that was originally not scheduled for broadcast until early next year. While the province's voters trooped to the polls, Quebec's premier (and would-be) waded, delivering a series of remarkable confessions. He indicated that a No vote would bring his resignation, declined to appoint Lucien Bouchard as his successor and held up declared his intention to use Quebec's federal-provincial funds as a prop for the Canadian dollar. Most telling of all, however, was his candid admission that he had no faith in the plan—partnership with the rest of Canada—that he had been attempting to sell to Quebec's voters during the entire referendum campaign and for months before that. "For a long time," Parizeau confessed, "I have started from the principle that that thing would never happen."

The premier's revelations arrived too late to influence the outcome of last week's official referendum vote. They were not aired until Tuesday evening, hours after Parizeau stood before the members of his own Parti Québécois government by announcing his intention to step down, the day after a phenomenal 56 per cent of Quebec's five million eligible voters came within 55,000 votes of accepting the beginning of the end of Canada as it has existed since Confederation, that the outgoing premier's televised confessions added more light on the entire process that brought the country as peacefully down to the brink, unleashing the long-simmered tensions within the ranks of Quebec's separatist movement as well as the underlying contradictions in the drive for independence. "I think what we have before us are impostors, purely and simply," charged Quebec Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson. "They made people believe in the possibility of a partnership, which they talked about in lyrical terms but which in practical terms they have never even reached."

Given the source, the view is certainly pertinent. But it was echoed elsewhere, beyond the ranks of committed federalists. And it added fuel to the arguments of all of those who, like Johnson, have been pointing to the public opinion polls to support the claim that as many as one-third of the 5.4 million of Quebec voters who say Yes believe last week's did so in panic, not out of thoughtful independence, but rather of new political and emotional relationship between Quebec and the rest of the country. Even some separatists are willing to admit as much. "The majority of people and those who propose change must be better informed to use last time," argued Parti action democratic leader Mario Desjardins, arguing his credible colleagues in the PQ to make sure that they "open the soul that comes from Ottawa."

What that soul opened depended on what eventually is chosen to succeed Parizeau when he steps down on Dec. 25 from his two positions



Parizeau announcing his resignation with his wife, Lucette Lapointe, realigning the PQ cabinet

## Bouchard may not get Parizeau's blessing



as PQ president and premier of Quebec. At the moment, all eyes in the province are turned towards Lucien Bouchard. If the Bloc Québécois leader's reluctant wife, Audrey Bouchard, can be persuaded to agree, Bouchard can look forward to a coronation ceremony far removed from his California vacation. While there are some Protestants who are rattled by Bouchard's public spouting over the chance that party leaders rushed to offer him last week, not even his potential PQ competitors will wish to say "No." The job as his it is worth it," declared MDA David Chico, who has flirted with the idea of running for the party leadership himself. "There is simply no opposition to the man, either in the caucus or around the table-and-the-meat."

In fact, the only prospect of any standing who may be opposed to Bouchard is Parizeau himself. In his television confessions, the premier displayed a marked reluctance to endorse Bouchard when he was asked directly by Sébastien Bécotte of Quebec's TVA network if the Bloc leader was his own choice to lead. "There are many dimensions to this," Parizeau replied, dropping a bomb that he may well favor his longtime associate Francis Morin, whom he promoted last week. "Shouldn't he be a woman?" the premier asked. "There is in Quebec no extraordinary law at the moment for a woman to be premier."

It was a delicate answer, given further weight last week when Parizeau shuffled his cabinet. He elevated Morin from treasury board president to Finance, the portfolio he himself once held in late Rose Levy's government. Parizeau first worked closely with Morin during his time in Lévesque's cabinet. She was the finance department's deputy minister at the time, later abandoning the cabinet to run for office. In 1985, she ran second behind Pierre-Marc

Johnson, the Liberal leader's brother, in the race to succeed Lévesque as PQ leader.

If Parizeau intends to send any signals with his cabinet shuffle last week, he succeeded. For Morin not only took over the Finance portfolio at a critical juncture in the government's history, she also joined the cabinet's priorities committee, an inner circle of close advisers that includes two other women—Inter-provincial Affairs Minister Louise Brodeur and Employment Minister Louise Ham—along with Quebec premier Bernard Landry and Guy Chénier, the minister of natural resources and PQ house leader.

Morin's promotion was not the only message Parizeau relayed when he shuffled his ministers. He was saving the need to dump Restructuring Minister Richard LeBlanc from the government when the scandal-plagued minister, in charge of non-sustainable economic studies on sovereignty's costs, saw the writing on the wall and resigned from the cabinet, admitting that he may even give up his seat in the national assembly as well. At the same time, Parizeau recognized damage control as other francophones. Jean Carpentier, the longtime chief of Quebec's Chaire de diplomatie, was demoted from Finance to Transport, and deputy premier Landry was stripped of one of his two portfolios. He retained International Affairs, but saw his post as minister in charge of cultural communities and immigration handed to Harrell.

As far as Landry was concerned, Parizeau may have had his choice. Quebec's cultural communities minister serves as the contact point between the government and the province's ethnic minorities. And Landry effectively subverted his own role in that regard as a result of a referendum-era encounter with Anita Méndez, a 42-year-old Mexi-

can's English and Spanish speakers whose words and mother tongue is neither English nor French. But it is also true that neither Parizeau nor Landry's constant use of the damage control strategy of sequential appointments, including union leader Gerald Larue, former federal Conservative minister Maurice Ménégoz and at least three sitting Bloc Québécois MPs. They are also not far removed from Bloc leader Bouchard's frequent complaints about Quebec's "white noise" producing too few francophones. By the time voters show up at the referendum that was discussed at Parizeau's last press conference with the Bloc that he publicly air his complaints in front of the international news media gathered for the referendum outcome rather than with the substance of his comments.

Whatever the case, it is just one of the many problems that will face whoever takes over as the PQ's leader and Quebec premier. Parizeau has left to control the damage caused by the cabinet's rearranging of the deck, whose husband is of Parizeau's original clan. It is clearly going to take some time to rebuild the all-too-bright bridges between the separatist movement and Quebec's non-francophone voters. If Bouchard is selected as the new leader, he will likely take over the reins of the party quite soon. The PQ's executive council is scheduled to meet on Dec. 9 to set the rules for the succession. Under party regulations, leaders are chosen by means of universal suffrage, a randomly-chosen vote among the PQ's 170,000 members rather than as a traditional leadership convention. If there is more than one candidate for the job, it is likely to be an intense process that will not reach a final resolution until late next February or early March.

If Bouchard overcomes his reservations, however, and decides he wants the job, the transition is likely to be more swift. In view of the fact that both Landry and Morin, the other two leading contenders to succeed Parizeau, both publicly promised to step aside for a Bouchard coronation, the Bloc leader could assume the post of party president

Parizeau (left), Landry (below), the next Parti Québécois leader will have to meet francophones with ethnic voters

## 'Is it the moment for a woman as premier?'

cano-born debt clerk at Montreal's downtown Intercontinental Hotel. At Martinez, a resident of Canada for the past 25 years, related the story. Landry arrived at the hotel around 8 a.m. and, after rummaging his glasses to stare at her some place, he suddenly asked "Are you happy?" He then asked the woman, blushing somewhat for the Yes side's narrow defeat and compliance, in Martinez's words "Why it isn't now open the doors to this country so you can vote No?"

Martinez's incoherent collapse at the first desk contained her version of events as did local security guard Ralph Bouchard, who was summoned to the scene at 2:30 a.m. and reported finding Landry "driving and moving something about the language but girls will have to speak proper French." Landry later confirmed that he engaged in a "non-referendum" conversation with the hotel's receptionists but denied making his voice or resorting to anglicized language. He also refused to apologize, citing racism as he emerged from the cabinet meeting where he lost his cultural communities portfolio that "transgresses were not to blame" for the situation that gave "some segments of our society a vote worth 50 per cent to later at some time."

Landry's remarks clearly shocked even by Parizeau himself as reflected in his own, when he blamed "money and the ethnic vote" for the Yes side's narrow defeat. Like Landry, Parizeau also refused to apologize, claiming that his resignation announcement last week that he was merely using harsh words to describe a fact of Quebec's political life. That said will be true, even though Parizeau was almost universally condemned by francophone commentators for singling out the



soon after the PQ executive meets in December. After that, he would likely rise in a by-election to gain a seat in the national assembly ahead of two MPs, both from Bouchard's home turf in the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region. Being publicly said they would resign their seats to make way for the Bloc leader. In addition, LeBlanc's riding in Therbyville, 30 km east of Montreal, may well open up a fight for former assembly members to win it.

Once in office, however, Bouchard would have to deal with the onerous task of actually governing Quebec. And that in a small choice, given the province's \$5.7 billion budget deficit last year. For the first time in his career, the Bloc leader would have to deal with the difficult decisions about costs with running a government, providing order decisions about costs in public spending and the curbing of social services that previously have been placed on hold in the run-up to the referendum. Many analysts believe that such a move is inevitable. However, does not seem to be in the cards for the time being. Bouchard's recent statements by Bouchard and Parizeau that the fight for sovereignty would soon continue. One problem is that Quebec's referendum law forbids a second vote on the same subject in the same government mandate. In addition, there is a powerful current of

# THE 'ETHNIC' SHOCK

operation among frequentists that the time has come to govern rather than reform, as yet another year for independence. "The prevailing view among everyone I've talked to in the caucus," said PQ MHA Chénier, "is that we've presented a project. It was rejected. Now, it's the other side's turn."

"The general idea," at least as far as Quebec's Liberal party is concerned, does not disagree: "I think the message that has been sent by this referendum is crystal clear," said former Liberal finance minister Lucien Bouchard, a member of Johnson's inner circle of advisers. "We laid out all the facts and figures about the costs of separation, but in the end, it seems to me that Quebec's voters, at least a majority of the francophones, indicated that they are willing to pay the price if there are no significant changes in the way the Canadian federal system works."

To that end, the provincial Liberals, acutely aware that the province may soon face another election, are drafting their constitutional platform. But Johnson refused to discuss during the referendum campaign. It will revolve around three head demands: the recognition of Quebec's "special place" in Canada, a Quebec vote over future constitutional changes and the further decentralization of federal powers. On the last point, at least, Johnson can permit to allow his Ontario's Mike Harris, Alberta's Ralph Klein and British Columbia's Michael Harcourt. On the other two issues—Quebec's special place and a vote—the situation appears more problematic. Likely to be the subject again to the kind of debilitating debate that surrounded both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords.

There is another factor driving Johnson's reluctance to let the Liberal leader's hold on the helm of his own party is not entirely secure. There is an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with Johnson inside the party, stemming from the referendum results, which clearly showed that a majority of francophones—roughly 60 per cent—voted in favor of the Yes side. At that vote were translated into a provincial election, the outcome would be grim for the Liberals. And in order to avoid that prospect, Johnson needs a shock to reinvigorate the conservative opposition—particularly if they are going to be led by someone with the charisma of Lucien Bouchard.

The comment—drawn last week before a dejected audience of sovereigntists following the Quebec referendum verdict—provoked both wild cheers and looks of stunned amazement. Conceding defeat, Premier Jacques Parizeau told the crowd: "We're beaten, it's true. But by whom? Money and the ethnic vote."

Badly shaken by those remarks, members of Quebec's minority communities promptly denounced Parizeau as ill-spirited at best, and racist at worst. Many noted that 40 per cent of francophone voters had voted No and that in a democracy, a vote is a vote regardless of race, ethnic origin or gender. Yet less than 24 hours later, as he announced his resignation as premier, Parizeau again pointed out accusing finger. Admitting that his comments the previous evening could have been better stated, Parizeau nonetheless expressed disappointment that so few anglophones and allophones (those who speak neither French nor English) shared the sovereigntists' vision. "The words were too strong," he conceded. "But the reality doesn't change."

Parizeau's perception of "reality" is precisely what disturbs more than one million Quebecers who are either anglophones or members of so-called cultural minorities. They are a group that voted in excess of 80 per cent to keep Quebec in Canada, for was it the first time they had reason to suspect that many nationalists consider them as something less than true Quebecers. The official nationalist line focuses on territories, arguing that anyone who lives in Quebec is a Quebecer, regardless of race or ethnic origin. Yet in early October, Bloc Québécois leader Lucien Bouchard talked about Quebecers as a "white race," and last February Bloc MP Philippe Poiré suggested that "other" voters should alienate themselves from the referendum campaign and let French Quebecers decide the province's future.

Many in Quebec's cultural communities say

that nationalists do not realize just how Quebec minorities and immigrants feel. Montreal immigration lawyer Wilton Korn, who is also the Quebec regional director for the Chinese-Canadian National Council, says many Chinese feel "a special attachment to Quebec and its language and culture." Korn adds that, when traveling outside the province, "I often end up defending Quebec to other people. Quebec is a distinct society whether Canada wants to recognize that or not. People who live in Quebec, including the cultural communities, realize that."

In the days following Parizeau's comments, sovereigntists swiftly distanced themselves from their leader. Bouchard and Quebec Cultural Affairs Minister Lucie Bouchard reiterated the theme that a vote is a vote, a theme that Korn called "very encouraging." But he said that the PQ government will have to work hard to heal wounds and build confidence within the province's cultural communities.

An important first step in that process, said Marc McAndrew, director of the ethnic studies center at the University of Montreal, would be for nationalists to stop linking ethnic voting patterns to notions of integration into Quebec culture. She noted that, until recently, immigrants were encouraged to integrate into the province's strongly federalist English-speaking community. But much changed, she added, with BQ 101, passed in 1977 by the first Parti Québécois government, which required children of immigrants to attend French schools. McAndrew said that the so-called BQ 101 babies, allophones who attend French schools and are integrating into French society, are the ones to watch—and that within a generation they and their children may show voting patterns closer to those of old-stock French-speaking Quebecers.

Another possible step that the PQ government could take, said Jorge Garmy, Quebec regional vice-president of the Hispanic-Canadian Congress, would be to deal squarely with the concerns of minority groups. "They really need to come to the communities and start a dialogue," he said. In the Hispanic community, added Garmy, that could mean bilingualism, which now very high even among those immigrants who have lived in Quebec for many years.

In a similar vein, Tony Mangalind, treasurer of the National Congress of Indo-Canadians, said that the best thing the PQ could do to improve its credibility would be to get on with the business of governing. "It's like to see three tonnes unemployment, the debt and the problems that exist in our health and social services network," he said. "They've been in power for over a year and all we've heard about is the referendum and the Constitution. I don't think they deal with the real issues." That is an approach that might have appeal far beyond Quebec's so-called ethnic voters.

LIZ HARRICK in Montreal

# GIBSON'S FINEST 12 YEAR OLD



WHEN ONLY THE FINEST WILL DO

# Postcards from the edge

## In the rest of Canada, patience is wearing thin



Pre-Canada city in Vancouver: voters may be more diving—or degenerating—than their leaders

from the rest of the country—and to make some real concessions to those differences. The other is to conclude, with regret but no further delay, that the fence has run out and it is time to help the separatists pack.

One thing, though, was absolutely clear: which ever it was to be, it should be soon, and it should be fast. Whatever politicians had at hand last week as they prepared their post-mortem in rooms of "chaos," what most ordinary westerners want is simply for the Quebec question to go away—fast.

The conventional wisdom at some of the different. Until the Oct. 30 vote, it held that westerners—and especially those in Alberta and British Columbia—would never accept anything that smacked of special status for Quebec. And in the wake of the decision, both B.C. Premier Michael Harcourt and Alberta's Ralph Klein endorsed the notion for change while making it very clear what was not possible: "It is not my job to offer up anything to another province," said Harcourt. Agreed Klein: "Special status—I don't think Alberta is in the mood to

have that revisited." What both leaders offered instead was to work with Quebec to decentralize federal powers to the fullest extent possible within the existing Constitution. These cautious pronouncements earned the premiers little applause and plenty of derision—both from hallway analysts and professional pundits. Still, astute critics neither Lucien Bouchard, nor anyone else who might succeed Jacques Parizeau as Quebec's premier, will be disposed to good faith negotiations on moving federalism. Second, the gap between the minor jiggling of federalism that Klein and Harcourt can tolerate, and the deeply emotional dream of many Quebecers for a country of our own, is both wide and obvious.

At the same time, there were indications that voters were in a more daring—or maybe just desperate—mood than their leaders. "I want

to know it is that we no longer have to make Quebecers feel wanted," said a Victoria woman who called Multivac Vancouver office in search of more information about constitutional options. Edmondson's Calgary Herald: "What is really wrong with a federation that is already so centralistic becoming somewhat more so?"

But if some westerners were shocked into taking a second look at Quebec's constitutional uniqueness, for others the tensions of the latest vote simply drained the last reserves of patience for the national compromise. "Now as hotly as any separatist," wrote conservative columnist Ernest Gruenberg in The Vancouver Star, "I was as Quebec oriented as I." At bottom, westerners sound irritated by an intractable dilemma: what they are prepared to give to Quebec, it no longer wants; but what Quebec does want, not even the most generous westerners are willing to give.

CHRS WOOD in Vancouver

## Atlantic Canadians show hints of desperation

The office workers seemed to sleepwalk; their way past the shops on Spring Garden Road in Halifax last week. The divisions tipped low at The Lazar Rogus pub in Fredericton, the callers sounded more tense than usual as Bill Bennett's St. John's Nfld. radio talk show, and the regular morning crowd was downright cranky at The Horizons in Monctone, P.E.I. Atlantic Canadians

had trouble shaking the fatigue that came from sitting in front of the TV sets until well after midnight—nearly 2 a.m. Newfoundland fans before the No side finally sealed its victory. The reaction was tonight's only real display of anger and despair over the breakdown of the federal pact, even if the country holds together, the region is staggering towards a doubtful future. A cartoon in the Halifax Daily News captured the mood just right: "The Maritimers will either get screwed if Quebec goes, or a recession-eyed Lucien Bouchard," or means screwed if Quebec stays."

It was as if a constant fear people who have lived since entering Confederation about their treatment by the rest of Canada. Now, at least they have a partner even if Quebec stays, the inevitable push towards decentralization will mean lower equalization and transfer payments for the eternally depressed region. Last week, hints of desperation could be glimpsed and the relief. How else to interpret the news that New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna—who cautiously praised the No side—didn't seem to want to send a message of investment of \$600 million to Quebec to lure away nervous businesses? Or the sudden interest expressed by academics, media commentators and even Nova Scotia Premier John Savage in banding together and keeping greater economic and political ties among the normally extremely territorial provinces?

No one could doubt the anxiety of the thousands of Maritimers who travelled to the Montreal rally only three days before the vote, or the politicians who offered to make whatever concessions are needed to appease Quebec. Through the long decades of constitutional wrangling, some of the staunchest voices for Canadian unity have come from the Atlantic region. But last week, with Quebec saying it may be only a whisper, all the emotion had drained away, leaving only the dull ache of the day after tomorrow.

Not everyone is as stubborn as Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, who drove the No side into a state of apoplexy with his late-campaign statements against granting special status to Quebec. But he unthinkably struck a chord in his home province, where quibbling about union continuation at nations can seem a touch absurd when entire villages are on government support and the unemployment rate of 18.9 per cent is more than double the national average.

Whether it is fatigue, desperation or simply angry patience is running thin at the eastern end of the embattled land. "When we need to join the majority back in 1948 it was by 1,000 votes," says Bill Rowe, the Newfoundland broadcaster and journalist. "It was good enough for us. So what is all the fuss about?" The bangerous singers.

JAREN DENRYN in Halifax

Unlily ally in Atlantic: the inevitable push towards more decentralization threatens federal transfer payments

## Westerners contemplate two distasteful options

Quebec was not the only part of the country where the political mood swung so drastically balanced that the first winner to leave might tip it irrevocably in one direction or another. Last week in the West, the same was still uncertain, but a selective sampling of chatter at the coffee machine, the corners of regional papers and the talk-show airwaves provided the clearest but inescapable impression of a region hesitating before two equally distasteful choices. One was what to acknowledge. Finally, after years of resistance, Quebec's glaringly obvious differences



## CANADA'S 15 MINUTES OF FAME

Canadiana pretty well have to live live announcement across the bow of a rogue Spanish fishing trawler to get the world to notice them these days. The largely peaceful manner in which Canadians debate their politics leads to keep them off the world news pages and television screens. There has always been a scattered cottage industry of Canadian specialists who pop up in strange places—Zulu politicians presenting a list of constitutional demands to the South African government and drag the inspiration of the Meach Lake accord, for example. But Quebec's second concerted drive for independence produced only years at first. Even in France, news coverage of Lucien Bouchard's 1981 visit to Paris was sparse, and one of his aides acknowledged that the separatist and Gaullist allies were not terribly excited about the prospect of southern-federalism run.

That all changed with last week's cliffhanger result. Suddenly,

politicians in places as far off as Tennessee and Taiwan were talking about the lessons to be learned from Canada's brush with breakup. Of course, the conclusions depended on the political prism of the beholder. Finnish nationalists, whose independence platform is strongly anti-immigrant, were sympathetic to Jacques Parizeau's self-proclaimed anti-Chinese Taiwan newspaper pointed out that Ottawa "did not exert military intimidation on Quebec, but the Chinese Communists are ready to use force to crush Taiwan's pro-independence movement anytime." And

Americans seeking to smother English as their country's official language drew implications about the state of bilingualism. "While Canada's two official languages threaten to tear the nation apart, English brings America together," Republican Representative Randy Cunningham said during a Capitol Hill debate.

Just how the same set of numbers could produce such divergent opinions was best demonstrated in Scotland. The Scottish nationalist movement is currently surging, and Britain's opposition Labour Party, which appears likely to form the next government, has proposed setting up a Scottish assembly to assuage nationalist feelings. The governing Tories argued that the Quebec experience showed that any devolution of power to Scotland would simply encourage

nationalists to push for independence. Labour politicians countered that Scottish separatism would be delayed by the kind of economic uncertainty that plagued Quebec's Yvon Falardeau. Falardeau, leader of the independence-minded Scottish National Party, noted that "fully-fledged federalism can barely contain Quebec within Canada, and therefore would never be enough to satisfy Scots."

The reaction to the vote in the capitals of Canada's major allies, Washington and London, was also predictable: a palpable relief and a reinvigoration of their long-standing support for a united Canada. Currency traders in London were quick to judge that their toppling of Canadian dollars and bank up on one of the No winners, down when the reality of the daunting challenge ahead sank in, up again on hearing that Bouchard might quit politics. It was enough to leave federalists grinning for the days when Canadian television was not running specials on the pros and cons of Quebec independence, when American networks were not broadcasting live from Montreal, and Canada was basically boring and ignored.

BRUCE WALLACE in London

# Canada NOTES



**TORPEDOED:** Lt.-Cmdr Dean Marsen, 39 (centre), leaves a court martial in Halifax after being found guilty of shooting his crew aboard the submarine *UQ805* between 1991 and 1993. Among other things, Marsen looked overboard and inserted a cigar into the anus of a British officer during a drunken party. The military judge absconded Marsen from the navy.

## Immigration up

Federal Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi said Canada will accept more immigrants next year than it is taking this year and that, for the first time, it will give all provinces the power to select some economic immigrants. Marchi set the level for immigration for 1996 at between 185,000 and 220,000 newcomers, up 2.5 per cent over this year's level. Economic immigrants—including skilled workers, entrepreneurs and investors—will make up about 56 per cent of the total, compared with 46 per cent who will arrive under family-reunification provisions. Live-in caregivers and failed refugee claimants who have been in the country for at least three years account for the rest. The provinces—with the exception of Quebec, which has control over the selection of many of its immigrants—will be able to select a total of 1,000 economic immigrants.

Included in the report tabled by Marchi was a projection calculated by the Quebec govern-

ment showing that immigration to that province will drop to 27,000 in 1996 from the 1995 target of 40,000. Marchi said he thought that was due to the province's ailing economy.

## Guilty as charged

A British Columbia Supreme Court jury found Dean Roberts, 26, of Cranbrook, B.C., guilty of three counts of first-degree murder related to the deaths of his wife, Susan, 24, and his twin sons, Joshua and David, 13 months. He was also convicted of one count of attempting to murder Joshua's three-year-old brother, Jonathan. Family and friends in Cranbrook rallied to the side of an apparently grief-stricken Roberts after his wife and sons died following a fire at the family home in 1994. But the jury heard a tape recorded by undercover forces in which Roberts boasted of strangling his wife and then setting the home ablaze. The evidence also showed that Roberts had sexual relations with three women in the two months after the deaths.

## ARTIFICIAL SKELETONS

Scientists at the University of Toronto have harnessed the chemical process that nature uses to produce bones and teeth. Geoffrey Gurt, a chemistry professor at the university, said that skeletons of microscopic one-celled organisms can be created by joining materials such as calcium carbonate to the surface of an organic molecule. Gurt said the new material could have applications ranging from faster computer chips to bone replacement and water filters.

## NDP LABOR LAW OVERTURNED

Leaders of the Canadian Auto Workers Union (CAW) said they will call a general strike later this year to protest the Ontario government's decision to force through a controversial labor law. It will replace legislation passed by the previous NDP government and will end the ban on replacement workers during strikes. Ontario Conservative Premier Mike Harris said the new law will improve the business climate in the province.

## CHILD MAY SOON BE SMILING

Doctors at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children performed eight hours of complex surgery in an effort to put a smile on the face of a four-year-old South African girl. Polwyn Kirk was born with Mikulicz syndrome, a rare nerve condition that left her unable to smile or close her eyes. In an effort to restore movement, doctors transplanted a section of muscle and nerve from her thigh to her face.

## SEX AROUSAL PILL TESTED

It worked for 83 per cent of Swedish males who took it, and now 1,000 North American men and women who suffer from impotence or diminished sexual desire will use it as a new drug called Sildenafil works for them. If the two-year trial is successful and the drug does not have negative side-effects, North Canada could approve it for sale. Rudolph Eskelund, its co-inventor, said that, unlike drugs that stimulate a physical response, Sildenafil restores the mental senses of desire.

## MURDERER SENTENCED

A sadistic killer and rapist who videotaped his victims was sentenced to four life terms in penitentiary by a court in Winnipeg. Stanley Pomeroy, 34, initially murdered a 16-year-old girl, Tess Franklin, in April, 1993, viciously raped two other teenage girls and almost killed a 79-year-old man. Like Paul Bernardo in southern Ontario, he targeted young, vulnerable girls. Pomeroy will be eligible to apply for parole in 15 years.



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# A MARTYR TO PEACE

Israel's Yitzhak Rabin is gunned down by a Jewish extremist

"I have always believed that the majority of the people want peace, and are ready to take a risk for it." Yitzhak Rabin told a crowd of 200,000 at a peace rally last Saturday night in Tel Aviv. With those words, the Israeli prime minister wrote his own epitaph. Minutes later, a right-wing Jewish law student fired a revolver at the 75-year-old Labor Party leader as he was making his way down the stairs from the speakers' platform, striking the prime minister in the spine, back and chest. Rushed to hospital, Rabin died in the operating room about 90 minutes later—casting a pall over the future of the Middle East peace process and plunging Israel into mourning.

He was the nation's most revered war hero, who late in life was transformed into its top soldier for peace. Yet in the end, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and survivor of four wars between Israel and the Arabs was killed by a fellow Jew. Authorities identified the gunman as Yigal Amir, a 27-year-old student at Bar Ilan University who had links to the extremist group Itzhak, which opposes any attempt to make peace with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Israel Rabin and Amir, who was arrested at the scene, quickly confessed to the assassination and told police: "I acted alone on God's orders, and I have no regrets."

The assault took security forces by surprise, occurring at the biggest gathering in years of pro-peace/pacifist peace activists. But experts on the Jewish militant right said the writing had long been on the wall. Rabin had been labeled a "traitor" by Jewish extremists ever since he signed the 1993 peace agreement in Washington with PLO leader Yasser Arafat. Protesters in Jerusalem last month displayed phony caricatures of Rabin dressed in a Nazi Gestapo uniform, saying that he shared guilt for the deaths of Jews killed by Palestinian terror. But the majority of Israeli Jews, who distance themselves from that extremist fringe, felt the same horror at the assassination as did the rest of the world.

Among the first to comment was a visibly shaken Arafat, the former arch-enemy who reached out to grasp Rabin's hand two years ago in a



Rabin (top), addressing rally attendees before he was shot; assassin Amir in custody: "I acted alone on God's orders"

historic display of friendship at the White House lawn. "I hope we will have the ability—all of us, Israelis and Palestinians—to overcome this tragedy against the peace process, against the whole situation in the Middle East," Arafat said in Gaza Saturday evening. The Palestinian leader, who is now under more pressure than ever to stop making agreements from unsealing the movement for peace, said a point of expressing his sadness on behalf of all Palestinians. But no sooner had Arafat spoken than the leader of the militant group Itzhak Rabin glared over the assassinations. "I am not sorry for the killing of Rabin," said Hamada Alshikhli Shalikh, calling the slain prime minister "the world's No. 1 terrorist." Other Arab leaders, by contrast, were quick to renew their support for the peace process, which had recently come closer than ever to bringing hostile Syria into the fold. In

Damascus, the news of Rabin's death was reported, but no comment came from President Hafez Assad. Jordan's King Hussein, who had just hosted the long-overdue Middle East economic conference, said he hoped Rabin's legacy would be to "strengthen the resolve of all those who belong to the peace camp."

In coming weeks, all eyes will be on Washington, which has shaped the Middle East negotiations through countless crises. Calling Rabin "a martyr to his nation's peace," U.S. President Bill Clinton remembered the prime minister's wariness expressed in Washington last month, and he let "the land flowing with milk and honey become a land flowing with blood and tears," said Clinton. "Now, it falls to us, all those in Israel, throughout the Middle East and around the world who yearn for and love peace, to make sure it doesn't happen." Clinton ended his statement with a choked "Shalom, chalom" (Goodbye, Israel).

In Jerusalem, an emergency cabinet session voted Knesset Minister Shimon Peres, 72, as acting prime minister. It was a natural transition for a man who had, during the past three years, worked so closely with Rabin. In many ways, they functioned as a dual government. Peres, ideas man and chief negotiator, wielded more influence than any other foreign minister in Israel's 47-year history. What the moder-

ate Peres lacked was Rabin's singular authority as a 30-year senior military leader who would not be seen as soft on his enemies.

Rabin followed in the rank along with the career. He author of the "break their bones" policy during the mid-1980s, the Palestinian uprising of the late 1980s, he was convinced that only a strong Israel could draw its partners into negotiations. Where he differed from more hawkish members of the opposition Likud party was in believing Israel must negotiate with the PLO—despite its history of terror against Jewish civilians—and be prepared to give up land for peace. Dismissing the PLO was the breakthrough that pushed Rabin far beyond any other Israeli politician in moving peace forward and setting up autonomy for Palestinians. "It is not with my friends that we need to negotiate, it is with our enemies," he was fond of saying.

Born in Jerusalem in 1922, Rabin was one of the first recruits to the Palmach, the crack fighting unit of the Haganah, a fledgling Jewish defense force waging a struggle for a state. In the 1944 War of Independence, he commanded the brigade that secured the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Two decades later, he commanded the Israeli forces that defeated three Arab armies in the 1967 Six-Day War. It was those battles that gained Israel the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the territories Israel was in the process of turning over to Palestinian rule when he died.



## BLOOD AND RECONCILIATION

1991: Middle East peace conference opens in Spain.

September, 1993: Israel and the PLO sign a Declaration of Principles for Palestinian self-rule in Israeli-occupied territories.

February, 1994: Jewish settler Baruch Goldstein kills 29 Arab worshippers in a West Bank mosque.

May, 1994: The PLO and Israel sign an accord paving Palestinian self-rule in the town of Jericho and the Gaza Strip.

October, 1994: Hamas terrorist kills himself and 22 others in a suicide attack on an Israeli bus. In the same month, Israel and Jordan sign a peace treaty.

January, 1995: Two Arab extremists kill 21 Israelis of a bus stop.

September, 1995: In Washington, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader



Arafat and Rabin in September

Yasser Arafat sign a new accord extending Palestinian rule to most of the West Bank. Nov. 4, 1995: A Jewish extremist assassinates Rabin at a peace rally in Tel Aviv.

Celebrating at the faithful rally: a post-war the Middle East peace process

Having served as Israeli ambassador in Washington, Rabin returned home in 1973 and entered Labour Party politics. He was elected prime minister a year later, but was forced to hand the reins to Shimon Peres in 1993 after a scandal involving a bank account his wife Leah had maintained in the United States, contrary to Israeli law. In 1993, he won the leadership of his party and went on to win that year's election on a platform of "peace with security."

After seven talks in Norway with the PLO in August, 1993, Rabin and Peres exchanged no longer as rivals, but as partners in a breakthrough that would expand Israel's peace from the Israeli call to war in Egypt to include West Bank and Gaza. Yasser Arafat, Jordan and in future, they hoped, Lebanon and Syria. On the last day of his life, Rabin spoke of a real potential for peace with Syria, as he deflected the hatred Tel Aviv rally to "an end to violence." As his party colleague and fellow Israeli war hero Orr Eyal put it, "Yitzhak Rabin, soldier and peace-maker," died in action.

NOVI MORALES with JOC STURER in Jerusalem

# Radical moves

*Rabin's death will not stop Palestinians from talking*



Islamic Jihad members in Lebanon protest Shuhada's shyness; clear signals

In the wake of the assassination of Jewish Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the Middle East peace process has taken a dramatic turn. But more quietly, another peace initiative is under way—among Palestinians. It seems likely to continue. The key players: Palestinian Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat and Ismail Haniyeh, spokesman for the extremist Islamic Hamas movement.

A few months ago, it would have been unthinkable for Arafat to want to hang out with Fatah, spokesman for the largest group of enemies of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Yet last week, Fatah, publisher of *Al-Nasr* (The Home Guard), the weekly Hamas paper based in Gaza City, was in Amman, Jordan, as part of a PLO-endorsement. Unusually, he was there to report on a historic Middle East economic summit. That same earlier Fatah, a 30-year-old network of six years in Israeli jails, not his newspaper normally covers economic summits, that explanation cut little ice. His presence in Amman was one of the clearest signals of a growing rapprochement between the PLO and Hamas, the terror group responsible for such gruesome attacks as the suicide bombings at buses in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem last summer.

In the past two months, Fatah had been the leading advocate of a pact currently being negotiated with Arafat's fledgling Palestinian National Authority, which controls the Gaza Strip and is gradually expanding in the West Bank. Under the deal, Hamas would stop attacking Israeli targets. In return, Arafat would become Hamas as a political party, opening the door for the "Islamic Resistance Movement," as Hamas calls itself, to put up candidates for an 82-member Palestinian legislature to be elected in January. Last week, the organization won the backing of the most influential of all Hamas figures, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, a crippled preacher who launched the movement from his Gaza City mosque in 1978. Yassin, who has been in an Israeli prison since 1985, convicted of organizing terrorism, told an East Jerusalem newspaper: "We should give peace a chance."

A deal with Hamas would be a general boost for the wily Arafat. Israel has put immense pressure on him to get violence under control in the areas under Palestinian self-rule, and Jerusalem has threatened to hold up the peace process if he cannot. Moreover, he has little chance of attracting desperately needed investment if his foe is in turmoil. But he faces more determined

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rewards. For one thing, some key Hamas leaders oppose a peace pact. For another, the ultra-extremist Islamic Jihad group has renewed its calls for strikes against Israeli targets in the wake of the assassination in Malta on Oct. 26 of an Israeli in exile, Fida Shukri. Islamic Jihad blames Moscow, the Israeli secret services, and Israeli spies who have positively avoided depicting involvement. Last week, two Islamic Jihad suicide bombers blew themselves up in attacks on an Israeli bus and a nearby road in the Gaza Strip. If Israelis were slightly wounded, Bab's death may remove some of the pressure for revenge Islamic Jihad

had reviled him as the man it believed ordered Shukri's killing. For Hamas, however, there are strong practical reasons for the new moderate line: the group is losing its appeal to the Palestinian public in the 1993 Oslo peace agreement. It may begin to deliver results—and its income spreads from Gaza and Jericho is the risk of the West Bank towns and villages under an agreement signed in Washington in September. In Gaza, riotous mobs are being reported with Japanese aid. High-rise offices and apartment buildings are being up. On the West Bank last week, Israeli troops handed over a police station in the town of Jenin

to Palestinians, a first under the new pact. An October poll by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre, an independent Palestinian information service, found that support for Hamas among the two million West Bank and Gaza Strip Palestinians had dropped to 40 per cent from 58 per cent in June. (Islamic Jihad estimated only 24 per cent). Fully 72.7 per cent backed the peace process. Only 17.8 per cent opposed it. Shukri Yassin's peace role was an acknowledgment of the crackdown on Hamas. Amr's secret police. Many activists have been jailed, in some with tales of torture. Amr is working, too, to reclaim the mosques and the schools, Hamas's main recruiting grounds. Muslims are forbidden to preach political sermons. School principals are ordered to report any teacher who brings politics into the classroom. But the Palestinian press across an unyielding Amr line. The opposition press has been closed.

The moves towards a pact are fragile, however. Mahmoud Dahlan, head of Palestinian Preventive Security in Gaza, once played last week that the Shukri assassination had undermined the negotiations with Hamas. At the very least, it strengthened the hand of those Hamas leaders in Gaza and, more particularly, in exile, who always opposed an accommodation with Amr. For them, all of Palestine, including what has been Israel since 1948, belongs to the Muslims. They are not prepared to compromise, even tactically. They will be part of a delegation that will decide the Hamas stance. "I'm not confident that Hamas will stop its attacks inside Israel," says Duh. At the same time, a spokesman for Amr's Al Fatah organization. "There are differences among Hamas leaders about military action."

One of Hamas's most rigid hardliners is Mahmoud Zahar, a 59-year-old surgeon recently released after 180 days in a Palestinian prison. He says he has no objections to talking with Amr. "The alternative is civil war. But that doesn't mean we are changing our mind, or our policy." He warns, "Our people still have weapons, and we are the only group willing to act against the Zionists." If Zahar has his way, Hamas will boycott the Palestinian elections. "Amr's aim is not democracy," says Zahar. "His aim is to elect a council to amend the Palestinian Charter. We can't agree to that while millions of Palestinians are still living outside." Israel has made announcement of the 1993 charter, which calls for the destruction of the Jewish state, a condition for a final peace.

Even Fatah's top men return from Amman, were unwilling to commit Israel to stopping its attacks on Israeli targets—yet. But he said Yassin both asserted they want to avoid "a Palestinian conflict." The switch call has led to a new "What's happening today is an Israeli attack. It's not the peace we were looking for. But it's better than occupation." It is that view prevails, Amr will breathe much easier.

# Bloodied hands

A tainted Bosnian trio opens peace negotiations

A three-pronged players at the U.S.-mediated peace talks that opened last week in Dayton, Ohio, raise the reputation of their Bosnian Muslim counterparts as liars for division and death. The hands they extended coldly in mutual greetings, for attentive ears are symbolically bloodied by accusations concocted by their warring citizens as indicted Yugoslavs during the past four years. By the estimates of their U.S. hosts, the killings during the five-year presidency ran to 250,000; the number of displaced people approached four million. That does not count the torture and trauma inflicted in the name of the ethnic nationalism preached by the presidents of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. If they now led to busy political discussions and agree to a settlement, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher declared at the start of the peace talks on Nov. 1, "future generations will surely hold us accountable for the consequences."

Given the settlement pressed by chief mediator Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, is loaded with the potential for serious consequences. Under an Oct. 11 truce, the three Bosnian presidents—Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic, Croatia's Franjo Tudjman and Bosnia's Alija Izetbegovic—took a first step towards a plan to turn the Bosnian half-occupied state a federation of the hostile factions. Half of Bosnia would be a Serbian state, the rest allocated to a fragile alliance of Croats and the Muslim majority. A U.S.-led set of up to 60,000 soldiers—mostly NATO troops, possibly including Canadian, with a role for Bosnians—would police the federal treaty's creation and the region's reconstruction. There is also a proposal to arm and train the Muslim army to make it more a match for its Serbian and Croat forces.

For its many critics, including both Democrats and Republicans in the U.S. Congress, the entire plan is a formula for disaster. New York Republican Gerald Solomon stated a common position in the House of Representatives. "This conflict does not justify giving our U.S. soldiers a combat."

## REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

BY CARL MOLLINS

Lacking legal force, "gritiously interfere with the negotiating process of peace." Other developments clouded the Dayton negotiations. Tudjman's government outlawed Croats in Bosnia—people designated to be citizens of the new Bosnian federation—to take part in a Croatian parliamentary election three days before the talks opened (Tudjman's mandate was with 45 per cent



Bosnia's Izetbegovic, Croatia's Tudjman and Serbia's Milosevic: war critics

of the popular vote). And the publication of U.S. intelligence and other reports provided many war evidence of Serbian "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia—the mass slaughter of as many as 6,000 Muslims in the five following the Serbian army's seizure on July 11 of the UN-designated "safe haven" of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia. A UN tribunal, which has cited Bosnia's Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Gen. Ratko Mladic for war crimes, is examining the Srebrenica crimes.

None of the three leaders at the Dayton talks has escaped the taint of ethnic warfare critics. Their records on human rights of ethnic division cast doubts over their capacity to go beyond the bitter grudges exchanged in Dayton—promises appearing to avoid serious American growing in hand of the armistice

Tudjman, 73, and Izetbegovic, 71, were leaders and leaders in earlier careers, were both twice imprisoned under the former Yugoslavia's Communist regime for "nationalist activities." Milosevic, 54, once a Communist state operative who became a leader in Belgrade and New York City from 1970 to 1980, has preached and slurred with changing tones. He gained power by denouncing a "Greater Serbia." He fostered both the Serbian invasion of Croatia and the Serbian rebellion at Bosnia. The former U.S. ambassador indicted him "as war criminal."

Against the hard-headed Bosnian president stands a tough negotiator (Holbrooke, also 54, is a sometime political adviser and a former New York banker in managing director of Lehman Bros. from 1985 to 1992). He is recognized as a negotiator who is ready to use threats as a weapon to get his way. His diplomatic career under President Clinton has encompassed assignments connected with the Vietnam War in the 1960s and, in 1993 and 1994, as ambassador to Germany, a country his parents fled in the 1930s. Since promotion to his present office

17 months ago, Canadian officials say, he has had little direct involvement with the Canada part of his mandate. Before taking on the Bosnian peace task last summer (one of his two years has been involved in a NATO relief mission there), he worked as a NATO negotiation policy.

Holbrooke described the Dayton talks as "a historic and important negotiation." At the start, the three parties did not even talk directly. Holbrooke acted as a go-between among the warring quarters in the basis's sparsely offered letters. The building's name of others behind a pressing anxiety and an onset that the latter Bosnian peace talks could not go as a joke, either a deeply ask one. It is called the Hope Hotel. But it was named for another Bosnian. ☐

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ERIC SELLNER in Jerusalem

# World NOTES

## NEWBORN STARS:

A photograph taken by the orbiter *Hubble Space*

Telescope offers a rare glimpse of the birth of new stars. The picture shows about 80 stars in various stages of formation in a nine-light-year-long gas cloud in the Eagle Nebula, 7,000 light-years from Earth. After the picture appeared on television, scores of viewers phoned in to say that they had seen the face of Jesus in the photo.

## Whites in the dock

Former South African defense minister Gen Magnus Malan was arrested along with 10 other participants army officers for allegedly ordering the hit-squad killings of 13 black women and children in 1987. Malan denied responsibility for the massacre, which took place at a prayer meeting in the KooDobu-Sand region. "I'm not guilty," he said. "I haven't been involved, therefore I'm sorry in court to prove my point." Malan, 65, was considered a hawk's hawk when he served then President P. W. Botha from 1983 to 1990.

President Nelson Mandela's government has accused the retired officers of establishing a paramilitary force for the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and fomenting a bloody rivalry between Inkathas and Mandela's own African National Congress. Congressional violence between the two black nationalist movements has killed 15,000 in the past decade.

Reports predicting Malan's arrest surfaced just as voters headed for the polls in municipal elections held across the country. Mandela's ANC party won an estimated 67 per cent of the total vote, and pushed out hundreds of white-led local councils. "The people of South Africa

have spoken," Mandela said. "They have shown their resolve to unite our nation and to together build a better life for all." But Deputy President F. W. de Klerk also claimed a victory for his opposition National Party, saying the ANC had lost support since its overwhelling majority in the first all-race national elections of 1994. De Klerk's party won only 23.2 per cent of the vote but gained nine percentage points over last year's results. The ANC lost eight points.

## Severe typhoon

Relief workers in Manila launched a massive cleanup operation in the wake of Typhoon Angela, the most powerful storm in a bad season for the Philippines. Blowing at up to 250 km/h, the storm killed at least 250 people—officials said the toll would likely rise as reports came in from remote areas—and forced an estimated 500,000 people from their homes. Most of the country ground to a halt. It was the fiercest and deadliest hurricane since 1987—in a country ravaged by some 20 typhoons annually. Like the Atlantic-Caribbean region, Southeast Asia has experienced unusually severe weather conditions this year.

## YELTSIN GIVES UP DUTIES

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin took over partial control of several important ministries after resigning as acting President Boris Yeltsin is hospitalized. In a televised portion of their visit, Yeltsin—recovering from heart problems—was seen looking weak and confused and struggling to hold Chernomyrdin to a co-ordinated work of the defense, security, foreign and interior ministries.

## AN AMERICAN APOLOGY

U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry apologized for the September rape of a 15-year-old Japanese girl by American soldiers stationed in Okinawa. Perry expressed his regret after agreeing to a Japanese request to move some of the 26,000 troops on the island to other parts of Japan, while keeping the total force of 47,000 in the country at its current level. The rape heightened long-standing Okinawan opposition to the bases.

## KEEPING OUT MOON

The leader of the Unionist Church, Rev. Sun Myung Moon, cancelled a visit to Britain after the government refused to reverse a decision to bar his entry, citing a London High Court ruling that the ban was illegal. Home Secretary Michael Howard said the "misery" suffered by British families due to the Moynies' habit of recruiting vulnerable young people was enough to warrant the ban.

## ROGGING A MAID

A Filipino maid, whose death sentence for killing her employer in the United Arab Emirates was confirmed after an inquiry, has instead been sentenced to 100 lashes and a year in jail. The maid, Sarah Bakirbayan, is to be flogged some time during her prison sentence, then deported after her family pays the emphysematous car's family \$95,000 to "buy" money. A Filipino businessman has volunteered the amount. Bakirbayan, who stabbed her employer after he raped her, had been sentenced to die until Manila intervened.

## LOSS OF FACE

Degraded South Korean ex-president Roh Tae Woo lowered his head and whispered "I'm sorry" as he went before prosecutors in Seoul to answer questions about an \$800-million slush fund. Roh, who confessed to extracting the funds from business groups during his 1988-1993 term, is the first South Korean leader to face possible charges stemming from a political scandal. "I feel ashamed and remorseful for betraying the expectations of the people," Roh said.



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# HOPES ON THE RISE

Despite the political turmoil, many companies are thriving

Like thousands of Canadian executives, Ed Henderson was glad to hit television last week as the results of the Quebec referendum trickled in. But it was not the potential impact on his own company that kept him on the edge of his seat. Henderson, 33, is secretary-treasurer of Skjerve Inc., a Boeing manufacturer of elevator platforms with plants in Guelph, Ont., Europe and the United States. For days, Henderson had been fielding anxious telephone calls from his company's overseas investors, many of whom feared that Skjerve's profitability would be threatened by Quebec's drive for independence. But Henderson reassured his backers that, whatever the future holds for Quebec, Skjerve will continue to thrive. "We're a global company," says a confident Henderson, noting that 95 per cent of Skjerve's sales originate outside Canada. "We know we would be alright."

For all the political uncertainty that persists in the wake of last week's referendum, Henderson's bullish sentiments are widely shared among business leaders across Canada—with the obvious exception of Quebec (page 38). This year, Canadian exports are projected to hit a record \$287 billion—part of a trend that should propel the domestic economy onto a cycle of steady, if moderate, growth over the next three years. In Hong Kong and Tokyo, currency traders were dumping Canadian dollars when early referendum results showed the separatists in the lead, but quickly reversed course as federalists' losses edged ahead. The dollar briefly touched 75.19 cents (U.S.) in overnight trading and finished the week at 74.37. At the same time, the Bank of Canada slashed its key lending rate by 1.87 per cent—the second-highest cut in history—to 4.58 per cent. And the Toronto Stock Exchange index ended the week 301.32 points higher, at 4386.5. Many business leaders say the economy is now poised to perform well "We're optimistic," says David Kerr, chairman of Toronto-based Noranda Inc., the country's largest natural resource company. "That's the bottom line. We wouldn't be spending if we were not."

In international financial circles, the focus quickly shifted from debate over Quebec's future to another huge challenge facing Canadians—whether France, Minister Paul Martin can deliver on



Must meet at Skjerve's Guelph, Ont. office: Higher sales

## FISCAL TURNAROUND: MORE PROVINCES ARE BALANCING THE BOOKS

September (L) (in millions of dollars)

	1994-95	1995-96
Nfld.	-130	2
P.E.I.	-9	3
N.S.	-280	-163
N.B.	-66	66
Quebec	-5,715	-5,575
Ontario	-6,594	-6,711
Manitoba	-198	46
Sask.	119	24
Alberta	958	-125
B.C.	-670	116

\* Projections

Source: Statistics Canada, 1994-95

his province to exit its \$200-million deficit, which is expected to reach \$23.7 billion in the fiscal year ending March 31. If Martin keeps to his commitment to reduce the deficit to three per cent of gross domestic product by 1997—no easy task, given the provincial payroll bill from a sharp reduction in spending—Quebec should ultimately reap the two benefits of lower interest rates and a stronger dollar. "Now that the near-term uncertainty has lifted," says Jeff Moore, senior analyst with the Dominion Bond Rating Service (DBRS) in Toronto, "we should see a pickup in the economy."

His optimism is underpinned by the numbers. According to the Confederation Board of Canada, the economy should expand by 2.9 per cent this year, 3.7 per cent in 1996 and 3.5 per cent in 1997. Exports, meanwhile, are projected to increase by 9.1 per cent this year and another 5.3 per cent in 1996—mostly thanks to increased

trade with the United States, with which Canada currently enjoys a \$27.5-billion annual trade surplus. John McCollum, chief economist at the Royal Bank of Canada, explains that a still relatively cheap Canadian dollar is attracting exports on edge in international markets. On top of that, economic growth in the United States, Europe and Asia has led to an increase in agricultural, commodity and natural resource prices. "The economy is not going to boom, but we will have reasonably good growth over the next year," McCollum concludes.

Canadians who are still shell-shocked by the referendum result, says Lloyd Atkinson, an economist at MT Associates Investment Counsel Inc. in Toronto, should look abroad for a more objective indication of how well the nation is doing. Many foreign analysts now view Canada as a highly favorable place to invest, he says. Among other factors, they are impressed by Martin's budget-cutting resolve, which could result in a reduction of interest rates to about five per cent over the next two years. And the economic recovery in Europe and Japan, coupled with continued expansion in the United States, should mean more good news for Canada's critical resource sector. Says Atkinson: "These things are making Canada much more attractive for foreign investors."

Solomon Inc., one of Wall Street's most influential brokerage firms, has been telling blue-chip clients for months—in spite of the referendum—that Canada is a safe place to invest. And following the referendum, it was willing to do so. Peter Platt, a Solomon vice-president, said investors are being lured back by the emphasis on spending cuts in many provincial capitals. Platt noted that six of the 10 provinces are forecasting ordinary budgetary surpluses this year. He expects Canada to meet its 1997 deficit statement this month that will directly attack the province's deficit, currently running at \$4.7 billion. As well, Platt predicts that the Quebec government will issue a "good go forward" statement later this year indicating that it, too, intends to meet spending goals. "The Canadian fundamentals look good into 1997."

Bullish sentiments also echoed through Japan's financial markets last week. Nikkei, head of the international bond desk at Nomura International Inc. in Tokyo, says the Japanese were heartened by the growing strength of the Canadian dollar following the referendum. Said Brooks: "If we have some stability we can get on with business."

As the economy improves, large firms such as Noranda—a multi-national forestry and mining operation—will be among the major beneficiaries. Kerr says he expects there will be a strong demand for Canada's mineral resources over the next two years. And, as driven by political uncertainty in Quebec, Noranda is planning to open a \$800-million nickel mine in 1996 near Repulse Lake in the Ungava Peninsula in northern Quebec. Kerr is calmed by the turmoil in Quebec. "Because we export most of our products," he says, "our economic circumstances would not change dramatically."

Although the cheery Canadian dollar has also helped boost No-

randia's earnings, Kerr maintains that the instability created by volatile currency shifts has hurt export companies more than it helps. For that reason, he agrees the country's political leaders to seize the momentum for a rebalancing of federal-provincial powers in hopes of finally putting the Quebec question to rest. "We have a good opportunity to put a list of the instability behind us," says Kerr. "But it is going to take a lot of political will to make it happen."

For many firms, the challenge from the future is not in exports. Winnipeg-based Solvay Strong Steel, a division of Strong Equipment Corp. of Toronto, is currently one of the country's fastest growing businesses, with sales up 30 per cent this year. The company manufactures conveyor systems and other equipment used in the transportation of bulk commodities, from grain and ore to wood chips. "We've had an exceptional year," says Scott's general manager, Brian Hodge. "It's somewhat difficult to keep up with demand."

Canada's oil-and-gas sector has also enjoyed strong growth, although in recent months natural gas prices have dropped because of overcapacity. Jim Gray, president of Calgary-based Canadian Hunter Exploration Ltd., says many companies are continuing to invest in the energy sector, in anticipation of a more stable investment climate. He also welcomes last week's market decline in borrowing costs. And Mike Kerr, he says Canada's business community can only be helped by a period of political and economic stability. "Businessmen like stable, predictable environments," said Gray. "That is the way money is attracted."

The TSE just took a bait

**'Now that the near-term uncertainty has lifted, we should see a pickup'**

The bad news, according to the Conference Board, is that unemployment remains high, at 10.1 per cent in the year-percentage in October. The rate stood at 9.4 per cent, up slightly from a month earlier—and at least 1977, partly due to government layoffs and continuing cost-cutting at major corporations. Even so, DBRS's Moore says there may be a slight improvement over the winter as lower interest rates spur consumption and boost the beleaguered home-construction sector. But all of these are carryovers from the 3.9-per-cent higher slide in the first eight months of 1994, which could improve if consumer optimism remains strong. "We could have a good Christmas season," says Moore. "And that would help employment."

"Of course, the outlook for the economy could have been even brighter if the referendum had not resulted in a virtual tie. Sherry Coopey, chief economist at the brokerage firm North Branch in Toronto, says that a more enthusiastic endorsement of federalism would have produced an even stronger dollar and lower interest rates. "Because of the closeness of the vote," said Coopey, "there was a tepid response from the markets." Still, she agrees that financial markets have been impressed so far by Ottawa's mood to do the right thing. Adds Coopey: "They are watching the government very closely. 'What they want is the proof that the government will determine whether Canada's economic recovery remains on track."

TOM FENNEL, with ANTHONY CANNON in Toronto

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# Instability's price

Analysts foresee economic stagnation in Quebec



Trudeau's return  
to Montreal  
a grim outlook

**A**lexandre Desjardins, managing partner of Joseph & Joseph, has tougher times than most investors. When Quebec and Canadian stocks plunged on pro-independence jitters, he saw a buying opportunity and picked up shares of the transport and services company Bombardier for what he calls a "relatively cheap" price. Joseph believes that, despite the political uncertainty, the Montreal company will thrive, and he is prepared to hold on to it through market gyrations. But other local managers, companies and individual Quebecers are nowhere near as confident. In the week before the referendum, with polls predicting a Yes win, many said Quebec investments or postponed key financial decisions until after Oct. 30. "The uncertainty of the No victory has not made it any easier to make up their minds."

It is a truism that financial markets detect uncertainty, and there is now plenty of it in Quebec. "From the point of view of risk, the Yes winning and Quebec separating would have been a lot worse for us," says Larne Trotter, president of Montreal's Matrix Electronics Ltd., a fast-growing computer technology company which forecasts revenues of \$250 million this year. "But the situation is still very unstable." As a result, Matrix announced last week that it is cutting back the \$75-million expansion it had planned for Quebec. It will lease new facilities instead of buying them, and about half of the 300 or so new jobs it expects to create will be in Florida instead of Montreal. It



could have been worse: Trotter warned during the referendum campaign that he would cancel all Quebec expansion plans if the Yes side won. "Ninety-one per cent of our sales are outside of Quebec, so we're not afraid of the consequences of speaking out," he says.

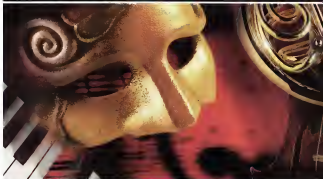
Many other business people—federalists and sovereignty allies—are keeping silent to avoid alienating customers and clients. But exactly bicycle maker Giuseppe Martoni is not among them. "If someone is so petty they won't buy a bike from me because of my Yes vote, I don't want them as a customer," says Martoni, whose 11 employees make some 1,200 racing bikes a year, which sell for \$1,000 to \$5,000 each. "If my business goes slower, it's better for me since I already have too much work."

In contrast to Martoni, companies seeking new markets were among those most worried by sovereignty. Their leaders raised several critical questions. If Quebec does leave Canada, would products that are now exported duty-free into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) continue to enter the United States without tariffs? What would the future hold for the textile industry and other vulnerable sectors which were exempted from NAFTA for their own protection? And even if Quebec decides for the time being to remain in Canada, will companies be able to hang on to their best employees, and attract new skilled workers, if the province's discontent proves chronic?

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most referendum night speech, in which he blamed the Yes side's loss on "anxiety and the ethnic vote" "has made matters worse. To say, the remark sounded like an attack on his business. Both the premier and Bill Gaetz's leader, Laurent Bouchard, had earlier criticized Bouchard's chief executive Laurent Bouchard for spending out against sovereignty. The personal nature of their comments led Bouchard to respond that they were trying to put workers and business people against each other.

Another complication in the prime state of the province's business. With a budget deficit that reached \$5.7 billion in the last fiscal year and its per-capita debt load the highest of any province, the government has little room to maneuver. Denis Normand, president of the Montreal-based Canadian Bond Rating Service, says Quebec can no longer afford large public projects like the James Bay hydroelectric dams. And private investors, he said, "are certainly not going to put up high rises and hotel factories. It's a situation that calls for adaptation."

As much as fund manager Joseph is committed to Bouchard, it is one of only two Quebec stocks he holds. Figures from the province make up less than five per cent of the Canadian stock portfolio he manages for various pension funds. "It wasn't avoidance of Quebec," he adds so much as a concern for reasonable share prices, growth prospects and returns from around the world.

Fund portfolio manager Ford O'Neill of Fidelity Investments Canada has a seven-per-cent weighting in Quebec funds, in line with the industry's benchmark Scotia McLeod index. One month ago, he had as much as 20 per cent invested in Quebec funds, but he cut back when he became aware of the Yes side's making progress. "There's too much uncertainty for me to feel comfortable" with a greater stake in Quebec, he says.

Joseph and O'Neill are altogether bullish compared with some individual investors. Sara Gooderhaus, a financial adviser at Manulife Investments in Montreal, received many calls during the campaign from worried investors. "I told them to sit tight, and most did. I only had a few clients who moved money out of the country," says Gooderhaus. "They were huge portfolios belonging to older clients. It was more scary for them."

Other worried Quebecers, such as a 66-year-old teacher at a Montreal community college who asked not to be named, simply opened U.S.-dollar accounts. To hedge her bets, she deposited \$8,000. If the Yes side had won, she would have profited from a drop in the Canadian dollar. Instead, the currency rose, but she says she is so relieved about the referendum outcome that she doesn't mind the loss. And as she waits to see how the situation develops, she is in no hurry to change her money back.

ANN BROCKLEHURST in Montreal

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## Quebeconomics

It was a bit like one of the heated riddles from the Mad Max era's that party in Illar in Woodland: when is a federalist victory actually a separatist victory? Unlike the Mad Max's riddles,

however, this one has an answer. Despite their official defeat in last week's referendum, the separatists have actually managed to compound the growing uncertainty about Quebec's next step towards sovereignty. And that's more than enough to keep international currency markets on edge and to keep the Canadian dollar—and the federal government—banging to the Yes campaign's political agenda.

One of the capital market's core tenets is "when in doubt, get out." So, as the near-marginal victory sank in and Premier Jacques Parizeau trotted his usual tricks, the evil twin—foreign currency credit ratings—began to reconsider their relief. On cue, the dollar began to slide back from its post-referendum spike of 75.11 cents US. Then, Moody's Investor Services of New York began to make private noises about reviewing the national debt in the top of Ottawa's list of priorities.

Of course, it is the height of paterfamilial to denounce traders, credit raters and their periodic assaults on our dollar and interest rates. But at the risk of sounding tiresome and tedious, they are actually entitled to such a strident voice in our fiscal affairs. The finance department's recent champagne about meeting its deficit-reducing targets notwithstanding, Canada becomes almost \$30 billion a year from foreigners.

Given the separatist leader's skill at manipulating the money market and commensurate control over Canada's economic resources, their slipshod in their own backyard is all the more perplexing. Any group that is presently committed to sovereignty must have figured out by now that steady economic underpinnings are imperative for political independence—in Quebec, or anywhere else in the world.

The problem is that, like all over-extended children, the separatists want to

THE  
BOTTOM  
LINE

BY DEBBIE McMURDY

eat their dessert before they eat their vegetables. Still, the sovereign Quebec is to survive, in some form, it must have a more balanced diet. The province's rocky economic legs could never support the sovereignist's stupor pledge to build a transposable society, unencumbered by the small-minded social-spending cuts and the petty budgetary constraints that have plagued other governments within Canada.

Let's get real. Quebec is currently saddled with a provincial debt-to-GDP ratio of 45.2 per cent. That works out to about \$10.212 a head, higher than the level in any other province. Quebec has an above-average unemployment rate of 11.5 per cent (much higher by some tallies). Just last week, the Quebec government discovered that a last under-estimated \$5 welfare tab for April and July by \$322 million. Furthermore, the emergency fund that is supposed to paper over such minor fiscal calculations doesn't have the cash to cover the shortfall. Finally, despite all the chatter about Quebec's export-oriented economy, it still runs a trade deficit of almost \$5 billion a year.

If that's not enough to fret about, the separatists have sensibly—and self-destructively—eliminated the province's export-oriented economic base. They have slashed the cash to cover the shortfall. Finally, despite all the chatter about Quebec's export-oriented economy, it still runs a trade deficit of almost \$5 billion a year.

That is not to say that there is no legitimate role for passion, vision, rhetoric or emotion in the debate about Quebec's future. In fact, the emotional component of the separatist pitch could—at the pre-ordained economy were in dream shape—provide the spark to generate significant growth. But when there is no economic foundation to support the grand words and romantic gestures, they become merely an exercise in rhetorical tedium—not a credible push for sovereignty.

Spend any electronic time from corporate discipline to via political support is always a dangerous game. And it provides tremendous scope for anything but a referendum. So just ask Ottawa.

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# Business NOTES

## FUNERAL CHAIN STUNG

Canada's largest funeral home chain, The Loewen Group, plans to fight a huge damage award in a breach-of-contract suit arising from its acquisition of two Mississippi businesses five years ago. A jury in Jackson, Miss., ordered the Burnaby, B.C.-based chain to pay \$815 million to a company which, among other things, accused Loewen of reneging on a deal to exchange assets. The award was 13 times the company's 1994 profits.

## CHILD SAFETY WARNING

A U.S. federal agency called on automakers to warn customers at writing of the dangers air bags pose to children not wearing seat belts or sitting in rear-facing child seats. The National Transportation Safety Board is investigating eight cases in which children died of head and neck injuries caused by inflating air bags. Cars with passenger-side air bags usually carry warnings on the sun visor, but board officials say the deaths prove "the message is not getting across."

## OTTAWA'S BUYOUT COSTS

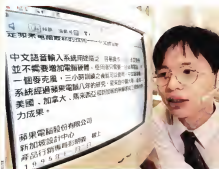
A program intended to cut 45,000 jobs from the 331,000-person federal payroll is expected to cost \$1.5 billion, \$300 million more than forecast in February's budget. The new figure is contained in the government's financial report for the 1994-95 fiscal year. Despite the higher cost, the government says it finished the year with a deficit of \$37.5 billion, \$2.2 billion less than the original prediction.

## 'FIRE WALLS' RECOMMENDED

The Canadian Investor Protection Fund called on big banks to take extra steps to safeguard client securities as they integrate their banking and brokerage activities. The fund, which compensates investors in failed brokerages, wants banks to create "fire walls" that would bar them from combining all of their client securities in one accounting unit. The recommendation coincided with an announcement that the Bank of Nova Scotia was combining operations with BoreMcLeod Inc., an investment dealer subsidiary.

## DAYTIME TV ZAPPED

Some of daytime television's most popular talk shows are under pressure from advertisers and U.S. politicians to reduce their emphasis on sex and violence. Both Sears Roebuck and Unilever NW have pulled ads from some talk shows this year, company officials say. Among the most controversial hosts are Jerry Springer, Ricki Lake and Billy Jay Rayphart.



**TAKE A LETTER:** Peng Ming-I, a software engineer with Apple Computer Inc., demonstrates a new Chinese-language desktop system, in Hong Kong. The software converts spoken Mandarin into text at a rate of more than 60 characters per minute. The company says it is developing similar programs for many other languages, but is launching this Chinese version now because of the huge potential market.

## Raising rates

Consumer groups and some telephone companies denounced a plan by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to raise the price of local calls while cutting long-distance charges. Under the plan, the cost of monthly local service will rise by \$2 to each of the next two years, and by a further unspecified amount on Jan. 1, 1998. The increase would be offset by reductions in long-distance rates. Known as "rebundling," the scheme would reduce the subsidy of local service by long-distance revenues.

Led by Bell Canada, the country's main phone companies have promoted rebundling for years. They say the need to subsidize local service has made it harder for them to compete against long-distance companies such as United and Sprint Canada. Despite that, representatives of Bell and Telus have said Maritime Telegraph and Telephone Co. Ltd. said the requirement to cut long-distance charges sends the board will hurt them financially. Both com-

panies advocate targeted rate reductions.

Separately, the Ottawa-based Public Interest Advocacy Centre said the local rate increases would punish most consumers and were "the thin edge of the wedge." The many business users endorsed the CRTC plan as a step towards better pricing.

## Bank expelled

In a decision that startled many banking experts, the U.S. Federal Reserve revoked the U.S. charter of Japan's Daiwa Bank and gave it 90 days to leave the country. The move came as federal prosecutors accused Daiwa, the world's 18th-largest bank, of conspiracy and fraud for covering up an estimated \$1.5 billion in losses by a rogue trader in the bank's New York City office. If convicted, Daiwa faces a fine of up to \$1.8 billion. In Japan, Daiwa president Takahiko Kato blamed the scandal on an "insufficiency of knowledge" at U.S. law. The Japanese financial ministry directed Daiwa not to open any new overseas offices and ordered a partial suspension of its currency trading activities.





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# The sudden rise of the Charest Liberals

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Last Wednesday evening, just as Toronto's Liberal poobahs were gathering for what they usually promote as "the largest political dinner in Canadian history" (2,400 people, \$500 a plate—half of it tax deductible), another more significant and much more private get-together was taking place only a few blocks away.

That one was held on the 34th floor of the Toronto-Dominion Centre, and it was also attended by some of the most significant Grits in the land, who also happen to be CEOs of some of Bay Street's largest firms. They came to hear Tory leader Jean Charest, fresh from the Quebec referendum campaign trail, who spoke to the group candidly about the present status of the Quebec question. The most moving moment came after Charest told the hushed room: "You know, if I had behaved like Preston Manning, the referendum would have been lost."

"God damn right," stage-whispered one of the dinner corporate sponsors. "The new or sleeping at Envo's again?" (The reference was to the persistent, enthusiastic personal support of Manning by Fred Eaves, once a staunch Tory, and a former high commissioner to the United Kingdom, the recipient of the party's most prestigious patronage plum.)

The private gathering was not unlike leading Liberals are meeting in living rooms and clubs across the country to compare notes on how to save the country—an enterprise that for most amounts to saving the Liberal party, since neither entity can exist without a strong base in Quebec. In truth, they don't perceive much difference between the party and the country, since for them, any Canadian future without a dominant Liberal presence would be no future at all.

It would be a gross exaggeration to report that these Grits are staging a coup against "that nice Mr. Charest." They are not. But for the first time since he took office in 1993,

*Some rebellious Grits think Jean Charest is beginning to sound as unconvincing as Kim Campbell trying to explain the deficit*

Charest's leadership is being seriously questioned, and the derogatory label of being "yesterday's man" has been revived. His critics maintain that the referendum crisis was Charest's first real test, and that he failed it miserably. The criticism is still there, but so is the realization that Charest's rhetoric and policy orientations are inadequate for the task ahead.

In contrast, many of the party's biggest recognize in Charest the style of leadership they need. Alone on the No side, the Tory leader emerged from the Quebec referendum with an expanded reputation. The Liberals are well aware that Charest would never consider crossing the floor of the Commons to sit as a cabinet minister, but they hold him up increasingly as an example of the style of leadership they lack. In their eyes, Charest possesses the range to project emotional feelings about his country without sounding mushy, and at least gives the strong impression that he knows where he is headed. In contrast, partly because his ideas reduced him during the referendum campaign to reading from a prepared text, Charest sounded about as convincing as Kim

Campbell trying to explain the deficit. Charest went into the campaign feeling so snug and arrogant that he was quite content to sit at ease until the last few weeks. He then moved overnight from complacency to desperation, managing to appear uncomfortable and inadequate in both roles. His last-minute conversion to granting the province some indefensible district-society status was mismanaged, except that it drastically reduced his credibility. With the possible exception of New Brunswick's Frank McKenna and Nova Scotia's John Savage, none of the current crop of provincial premiers intends to endorse a district-society clause in the Constitution. (There's much more misadventure in persuading Ottawa that it could save the equivalent of its proposed \$5 billion cuts in transfer payments by instead withdrawing from areas of provincial jurisdiction.)

District society remains a nonstarter for another very good reason: Quebec's lower echelons aren't the slightest bit interested in supporting such a move. "I don't want a district society," Jacques Parizeau has repeatedly maintained. "I want a country." His successor, whether it's a reluctant Lucien Bouchard or an eager Bernard Landry, will push the same view.

One example short of outright independence that might keep the country together is the Swiss model of government. That tiny, landlocked European democracy—it's smaller than Nova Scotia—is devoid of any writing language, religion or ethnic heritage. A smoothly functioning federation of 23 cantons, which operate almost as independent republics and in turn consist of about 1,000 largely autonomous communes—towns and cities—most of the population lives. The federal government's powers are limited to administering law, defense, transportation, foreign policy, customs and the country's monetary system, but sovereign power rests directly with the people, who vote several times a year on major policy issues in national or local referendums. Deputies to the National Council are elected by proportional representation, while an upper house of parliament consists of representatives from each of the cantons. The country's constitution dates back to a document signed in 1291 by its three original cantons.

Of course we aren't Swiss, and it's much easier to be highly decentralized in a postage-stamp country like theirs than in a continent diagnosed as a nation, like ours. Not only by searching out such radical new approaches does Canada have a hope of surviving.

There comes a point when national institutions simply can't be fixed any longer, they have to be replaced. There's not much wrong in turning all federal powers to the provinces. That takes government closer to the people, and the ultimate authority these days doesn't rest with nation-states any longer anyway.

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## PEOPLE

### BREAKING OUT A POWERFUL VOICE

At 23, pop/blues singer Amanda Marshall has been performing for decades. She was only four when her parents enrolled her in a toddlers' music program at Toronto's Royal Conservatory of Music. Marshall—who also the stand-up too like her father Doug, learned to, as well as the cello music her mother.

Marshall: most comfortable on stage

Gentle, brought from her native Toronto as her major musical influences—has been telling it out ever since. "I was always the loudest kid in class," she says. She was just 16 when singer-guitarist Jeff Healey caught her act in a small Toronto nightclub. Impressed, he had Marshall open for him while he was on tour. She quickly became a popular act in her own right, as music critics were surprised when her powerful voice fell silent for a couple of years. It turns out she was taking time out from touring North America to write and record her more raucous debut album, the self-titled Amanda Marshall. But now she is eager to perform for live audiences again. "I'm most comfortable when I'm on stage."

### TAKING A BITE OUT OF STARDOM

Welsh-born actor Geraint Wyn Davies is having an all-too-typical Canadian experience. He plays the lead role in the television series *Forever Knight*, which chronicles the nocturnal adventures of vampire/police detective Nick Knight. The hour-long drama—which is filmed in Toronto and makes no bones about being Canadian—has developed a huge cult following on cable in the United States, but it has been slow to catch on in its home market. "I'm a much bigger star in the U.S. than Canada," laments Wyn Davies, 34, who moved to Canada at age 7 and went on to perform at the Stratford and Shaw festivals. But as *Forever Knight* enters its third season, Wyn Davies is hopeful that situation is about to change. After two years of irregular and out-of-sequence screenings, the Bloor Broadcasting System in Ontario and Saskatchewan is giving *Forever Knight* a regular Monday-night time slot. "Now people can find the show," says Wyn Davies. "That could make Knight a really—a clearly visible vampire."



Wyn Davies: finding a regular spot to roam

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Gerald Lynch: "Why make up a place?"

### NEIGHBORHOOD GOSSIP

With its combination of grisly murders and oddball characters, the wickedly humorous *Twelve Monkeys* reads as though it could have come from the twisted pen of *True Detective* creator David Lynch. The author, however, is Ottawa writer Gerald Lynch (in release), who says his novel's pulpy serial-killer genre owes its origin and structure to Stephen Leacock's *Skeletons of a Little Town*. "I even used the same title, 'L'Enfer,' for the last chapter," says Lynch, 41, an English professor at the University of Ottawa and a leading Leacock scholar. Like *Skeletons*, *Twelve Monkeys* is a fictionalized account of events in a real town. While Leacock hated Marjorie on Orléan, Ont., *Twelve Monkeys* gets its layout from Lynch's own neighborhood of Rockland Hamlet, near Ottawa. But the author says he did not exactly mimic Leacock's formula as "tribute to the hard-boiled humor," Lynch explains. "Out of these laments, I thought, 'Why make up a place?'"

Edited by BARBARA WICKINGS

### DON'T TRY THIS AT HOME, KIDS

As someone who chews—and swallows—glass and stone rolls up his nose, Jim Rose is clearly no ordinary guy. His fascination with the circus sideshows that he saw as a child remained with him, and as an adult he has dedicated his life to reviving that dying form of entertainment. In the process, Rose and his now family-based troupe have become something approaching mainstream entertainment, especially in Canada, where they first caught on. Rose is a tattooed, bug-eating sadist known only as *Biggie* who has appeared on the Fox TV hit *The X-Files*. New York City-based Dell Publishing recently published a book about him, *Pinak Life*. And now his circus sideshow is in the midst of a 40-city North American tour, filling medium-to-



Rose: reviving circus sideshows

large-sized venues instead of the grungy bars where they once performed. And who is in his audience? "Everybody who has ever turned their head when they heard live sexual and then a crunch," says Rose.

# CONDITION *critical*

Confidence in medicare is severely eroding, according to a Maclean's/Medical Post/Angus Reid survey. Doctors and patients are both very pessimistic about the future of health care, although the two groups show strikingly different attitudes on other controversial issues.

BY MICHAEL POSNER

With mounting concern, Dr. Joel Carter studied the situation in the Winnipeg Health Sciences Centre emergency ward. In one resuscitation bed, an elderly heart patient lay dying; the family gathered around her. Doctors had removed her heart, and were maintaining her on life-support systems, but death was only a matter of hours away. Then, as Carter casually watched, a second cardiovascular victim was admitted, occupying another resuscitation unit. In a perfect world, he thought, the dying woman's family could have sat with her indecently a necessary part of the grieving process. But in the mid-1980s, the world of Canadian medicine seemed anything but perfect. A strike had closed emergency wards at other area hospitals. In the entire city, Carter knew, there were, at most, two other resuscitation beds available. The longer his first patient remained on life support, the more likely it was that another cardiac case would arrive and have



## Gloomy expectations for future medical care



nowhere to be put. The choice was inescapable: the woman's life-support system would have to be turned off in order that another patient might have her bed—and a chance to live. It fell to Carter to inform the family.

That happened in September. Today, Carter, 34, is practicing emergency medicine in Duluth, Minn.—one of three Health Sciences Centre doctors who have recently left Winnipeg and accepted primary-care positions in the United States. It is true, Carter concedes, that money had something to do with his decision. In the United States, he will roughly double his annual income—to about \$250,000. But equally important, he admits, were standard-of-care issues—the consistent frustration of bed shortages and delays for surgical procedures. "It's sad," Carter says, "but we didn't have the resources or the time to care properly for that lady in a time of crisis." And that, he says, is beginning to happen everywhere. "There are no resources left. It's late for the politicians to call a special session. The system isn't working any more." Leaving Canada's 52,000 physicians—and Canadianists at large—Carter's sentiment seems to be striking an increasingly responsive chord. Indeed, scored last as the results of a Maclean's/Medical Post/Angus Reid health-care survey of both doctors and the public, the country's confidence in the decades-old structure of universal medical care is starting to crack. Conducted in late Sep-

tember, the poll's 1,908 Canadians showed that slightly more than half the population still regards the current system as either very good (33 per cent) or excellent (13 per cent).

But the numbers are in decline, indicating a clear and steady erosion of consumer faith in the system. And an absolute majority—58 per cent of Canadians and fully three-quarters of the physicians—now believe the future of health care is likely to be worse a decade from now than it is present.

"The entire system is tottering," laments Robert Turpin, 46, an Ottawa quality controller, who has been studying the health-care industry for years. "The services provided are excellent, but the pressures are causing it to slip, and the ability to deliver services is threatened." And the poll, according to Angus Reid vice-president Andrew Grometko, is an early warning of the conflict that looms in the health-care arena. "That's where we're headed," Grometko says. "And it will raise fundamental questions about Canada and why we are as a people."

Yet despite those danger signals, there are high levels of satisfaction with the service doctors are providing (page 58). As well, there is an intriguing conviction that the Canadian health-care system is superior

## Rating Canada's health-care system



to the American. "I still say we have the best healthcare system in the world, and doctors as well," maintains Bob DeMurek, 52, an Alberta civil servant living in Calgary. Like most of those surveyed, DeMurek says he would prefer to be treated for a serious illness in Canada, "where you don't have to mortgage your house to pay for it." Ironically, in an earlier poll of 1,700 doctors, about one in five said they would rather be treated in the United States. The Maclean's poll also reveals that, as a variety of ethical issues, including support for assisted reproduction and physician-assisted suicide, the public tends to be far more liberal than the practitioners (page 56). Overall, concludes Angus Reid's Grometko, "health-care concerns are occupying an increasingly prominent place in the minds of Canadians."

Prominent and uncertain. In fact, the Maclean's poll suggests there is a growing sense among both patients and doctors that medicine's once unimpeachable fortress is under siege. Across the country, health-care delivery is being questioned by new-elected governments. Long waiting lists have led to certain procedures, including cardiac and cancer surgery, and hip and knee-joint replacements. With their fees reduced, many physicians are apparently prepping up the volume—maintaining income levels by seeing more patients. In fact, fully 70 per cent of all doctors think some of their colleagues are encouraging some patient visits in order to maintain income levels. And almost all per cent of physicians see that in "the only reasonable response" to the revenue shortfall. It is logical, says Toronto family practitioner Dr. Mark Douglas, but it puts the profession on a vicious treadmill. "Many doctors are running the crazy," says Douglas. "It's exhausting, so they become resentful. There their morale sinks, and that's bad for the public."

Some members of the medical fraternity are even more pessimistic. "We all know the country is broke," says Dr. David Green, now of general practitioners in Swifts, Man. (population 1,900). "The government is trying to cut, which is inappropriate. But then they tell the public everything's fine. And that's not the truth, because everything is not as available as before. Access will be restricted in some way. You just tell

*'There are no reserves left. The system isn't working any more.'*

—Dr. Joel Carter



**Tarpies** "The entire system is teetering. The services provided are excellent, but the pressures are causing it to tip, and the ability to deliver services is threatened."

not closing 102 hospitals in Toronto, as has been proposed, won't affect services." Indeed, as the doctors' survey suggests, the professionals' tight budget austerity and government policies are having a clear and negative effect on health care. Some 65 per cent say their ability to practice medicine that is best for their patients has been noticeably restricted. And 40 per cent say they now hesitate to look following recommendations of some for medicine resources.

"The system is slipping away," agrees Dr. Louise Cloutier, a family physician in Dorchester, N.S. "There are longer waiting periods for services, even those now considered essential. This requires an adjustment in people's attitudes." Sharing *The Killing Stresses*, Cloutier adds, "You can't always get what you want."

The issue, of course, is tied into the knowledge and technological point of view, medical science has never been more capable. "We can do more and more, but we have less and less to do it with," says Dr. David Wallace, an emergency physician in Kingston, Ont., and president of Ontario's College of Physicians and Surgeons. "So the real question is, how do we compare to a level of comparison and needs with unlimited capabilities but limited resources?"

Ironically, perhaps, the perceived crisis of funding is generating sharp debate about the merits of what is known as two-tier medicine—a system in which the existing public apparatus would be paralleled by some privately funded arrangement, under which consumers would pay for the medical services they wished. That has diagnosed, says Angus Reid's Greenfield, is now being formed. A dress rehearsal for the larger, systemic drama that is ahead is the current federal-provincial controversy over private health clinics in Alberta (see box).

And on this issue, the gap between ordinary Canadians and the medical community is striking. Only 15 per cent of the public at large support development of a second-tier system, with 66 per cent of the nation's doctors. Support for two-tier is strongest in Quebec (55 per cent) and Alberta (47 per cent), but significantly weaker in other regions. It's going to be an ugly, difficult, long drawn-out battle," Greenfield predicts. "When Canadians vote up to the implications—no cost of paying for dual long-term care and even heart attack, the need to save funds for catastrophic illness—people will scream. And it may be too late then." It is a fundamental question, says Greenfield, adding: "Do we stand for a kind of self-satisfaction that's compassionate and caring? Or do we desire co-existence—a first-rate medical system that has to be paid for? Either

## PRIVATE affairs

Ken Bradley is in the eye of a political storm raging over Ottawa and the provincial governments on the issue of healthcare funding. But the Calgary physician says there was nothing subtle in his decision to have cataract surgery done recently at a private clinic. His ophthalmologist, Dr. Robert Mitchell, could get him in Calgary. Done more important, Bradley, 48, says that he likes the surgical options more readily available at the Mitchell Eye Centre in southeast Calgary—such as a special lab for lens but requires only a very small incision in the eye that minimizes recovery time. "The design was technical, not political," says Bradley. "The only negative is paying the extra money—he is out of pocket \$1,500 in facility fees. 'Nobody likes to spend money,' Bradley says, "but you make picks in life."

According to advocates of private medical care, the cash-strapped public health system must be flexible enough to allow those kinds of choices if it is going to survive. According to its critics, private clinics are the thin edge of a private medicine wedge that is threatening to undermine universality and accessibility. Three other provinces—Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Manitoba—also allow some private clinics to charge their provincial health-care plans a physicians' fee—about \$500 in the case of cataract surgery in Alberta—and, in the same time, to charge an additional facility fee directly to their patients. Alberta has long argued that these private clinics are permitted under the Canada Health Act. Federal Health Minister Diane Marleau disagrees. And since Oct. 15, she has been calculating punitive reductions in federal transfer payments against the provinces that allow the semi-private clinic arrangement, which she calls "subsidized queue-jumping, because it allows some people to buy their way to the head of the line."

Calgary's Mitchell maintains that it is actually the private clinic patients who are subsidizing the public system, since they continue to pay taxes while also paying for the facility fees. Mitchell notes that while hospitals include funding to cover expenses like operating room space, private clinic operators charge their patients facility fees to cover these same things. And Mitchell claims that private clinics are more efficient, more flexible and flexible than public facilities. But he and many other private clinic operators who say that they would rather see medicine served by the facility fees. "I don't like the situation right now, whereby basically some of my patients also need the cataract surgery, but live poor, have to live up," says Mitchell. (The current wait in Calgary for cataract surgery is, on average, from four to six months.) He envisions a system where the clinics would continue to be privately owned and competitive for patients. But patients who need a service would not have to pay out-of-pocket. (They would still pay directly for services not judged medically necessary.) "What we need," says Mitchell, "is a system without the best parts of private health care are blended into the public system."

For his part, ophthalmologist Bradley says that "some people like to drive a new, and if they can afford to do it, they shouldn't be denied—so long as the vehicle that is offered to the general public is simple and safe and reliable." Ultimately, the physician's willingness to accept private clinics may depend on the extent to which the public system is also deemed to be redefining.

MARY HENRICH in Calgary

we have to change our expectations of what constitutes normal medical care or we have to start paying."

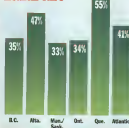
Greenfield, among many others, believes Canadians are not ready to abandon these entitlements. Medicine, after all, has long been one of the defining characteristics of contemporary Canada—that sense of collective responsibility to look after each other in a low-life chronic. Such systems are not easily surrendered. "No doubt there are changes we can make in the system," says Kingston's Ernest Steele, 75. "But I'm a great believer in the universal medicine approach. I would not like to see us backslide into a private system of any kind."

Still, a majority of doctors (54 per cent) say Canada should never have adopted medicine, while some 40 per cent of the public (37



**Surgery at the Mitchell Eye Centre** continues over whether medicine should cover cataract facility fees

## Support for two-tiered health care



## Contrasting perspectives

per cent) say the quality of health care would be better today if Canada had opted for private insurance or co-payment. Among those more sympathetic to a two-tier concept, there is concern that private facilities would tend to improve the public system. "I don't have a problem with the principle," says Calgary ophthalmologist Ernest Steele, 75. "So long as they are offering the same quality of service. The danger, of course, is that the additional dollars in the private pool would attract the doctors with expertise."

Many doctors, on the other hand, think some form of two-tier arrangement is probably inevitable. "There isn't any way around it," says Toronto's Cern. "Why should I wait nine months for a cataract operation when, by going to a private clinic, I'd only have to wait a month?" Some experts consider the issue both more. "Two-tier is here already," says Dr. Martin Berkus, a former deputy minister of health in Ontario. "Coverage has never been entirely universal. People pay for vision care, dental care, long-term care." Barker, now CEO of Mississauga-based Denton Health Inc., a pharmaceutical firm, says the question is not whether two-tier is coming, but "what its impact will be."

Yet, many health industry analysts share the growing skepticism that the system is set for nothing as much as headlines may suggest. "The anecdotal evidence is more anecdotal than evidence," says Toronto's Dr. Michael Reiche, a former general practitioner now heavily involved in consulting. In fact, according to Evelyn Shapiro, senior research officer at the University of Manitoba's Centre for Health Policy and Epidemiology studies that, even after the closure of almost 20 per cent of Winnipeg's hospitals beds, there has been no measurable decline in access, quality of care, or the general health of Manitobans.

"The real crisis," argues Reiche, co-author of the 1994 book *Strong Medicine: How to Save Canada's Multi-Care System*, is whether we continue with public financing delivery has always been more or less private, private hospitals and private practitioners. And the public method, he insists, is "the more efficient than the private financing system. I know it's counter-intuitive in the '30s that public could actually be more efficient than private. But the single-party system actually gives the government power at the bargaining table, with more leverage to control costs, negotiate with doctors, etc. The fact that the system is not perfect is no reason to blow it up." Yet that Reiche maintains, is precisely what groups that support privatization, potential alliances of hospitals and doctors, are trying to do. "Some doctors are trying to run the public system, or prevent it from being done."

Other observers think the current fiscal squeeze may actually have a salutary effect. "Older people don't change behavior unless there's a crisis," says John Bennett, president of Toronto-based Quinte Solutions, a health-care consulting firm. "There's a sense that enough stress in the existing system to provide medically necessary services to all Canadians. But we have to get at the enormous amount of duplication, the unnecessary testing. The problem is, we

69%

56%

42%

32%

Public  
Physician

Think it would be OK to develop two levels of service

Think Canada never should have gone to universal medicine



really have no system. What we have is a very fragmented structure, with hospitals here and family practitioners there, and public health there and long-term health care there. And they're not all integrated. Which means the patient suffers."

As the *Mailweek* poll results indicate, Canadians are clearly conscious of medicine's decline in quality. Today, only 19 per cent of respondents still regard the system as excellent—seven percentage points less than in 1994. "We've been flying first-class for many years," says Dr. Robert Wood, a family physician in Tulsa, Okla., population 6,000, 60 km east of Lethbridge. "Now we're flying economy, but without all the comforts without planning will sooner or later lead to a crisis. Some rebuilding and restructuring is necessary."

Indeed, many health-care analysts believe that with major reforms, the system is capable of being more adequately financed—even in a climate of government penny-pinching. "Our problems have less to do with money than with management," says University of British Columbia health economist Bob Evans. What's needed, he says, is more careful oversight throughout the system. One example: the large percentage of vaccines ordered by doctors that become stale-dated and are eventually thrown away. "Physicians have no training in inventory control," notes Toronto practitioner Dodge, "and these kinds of losses represent millions of dollars."

There is waste, too, at the institutional level. Although the fight over hospital closures across the country is just beginning, most health-care experts acknowledge that the move is long overdue. "The system is fixed in time," says Kenneth A. Brennan. "So many resources are swallowed up by these hospitals. There's enormous duplication—of services, human resources, administration, maintenance, support. In Toronto, for example, many people think the district health council's recommendations did not go far enough." In short, as Evans notes, "there's no one, single magic bullet" for eliminating waste and duplication.

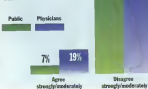
Another area that clearly needs addressing is doctor distribution. Although the *Mailweek* survey shows that more than one out of 10 Canadians believe physicians should have the right to practice where they choose, a significant minority (38 per cent) disagrees. But there is no consensus as to how to solve the many remote and rural communities now facing access to either general practitioners or specialists. One solution: DeMarchis suggests that doctors be required to do six months or a year's stretch in places like northern Alberta—"not just get their education, have it paid for, and then go to the States."

**Seventy per cent of doctors say some physicians are encouraging extra patient visits to maintain income**

will be tempted to avoid contracting by doing "less of the same. And that will put us in a difficult We have to do things differently. The government has to be involved in this to some extent." What medicine really needs, says Dr. Ed Shoen, an emergency physician at Peel Memorial Hospital in Brampton, Ont., is a new vision statement, one that reflects broad consensus and long-term planning. "It's a big ship," Brown says, "and it has to be steered with great care." □

## Whom do you trust?

"If I had a serious illness or injury, I would prefer to be treated in the United States."



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# FEVERISH relations

The traditional doctor-patient relationship is breaking down as a result of government cutbacks and patients demanding to be treated as customers

Suffering from a heavy cold and a very sore throat one day last year, Vancouver software developer Bruce Hickey decided to visit a local walk-in clinic. Inside, he happened to glance at the patient's nametag. To his astonishment, he noticed that he had been allotted just six minutes to spend with the attending physician. "You go in there, you're left waiting, you're sitting for an hour. I think you should be able to tell them for your time."

As the Maclean's poll shows, temperatures are plainly rising in the doctor's waiting room. As public purse strings draw ever tighter, both physicians and patients seem increasingly dissatisfied—doctors with their meagre and their perceived inability to deliver the highest quality of medicine, patients with their access to the system. As a result, the traditional relationship is starting to fray. "Patients are now customers," says Angus Reid vice-president Andrew Gerrold. "They don't have the same deference they once had. They no longer see their doctors as holy healers."

And the doctors are on the defensive. "They don't have the same ability to command resources," adds Gerrold. "They're frustrated because they know they can't do things they should be able to do."

When it comes to office visits, Canadians also have some pretty firm ideas about why they're being forced to wait nearly two-thirds of those surveyed believe that doctors are maintaining their own income levels by encouraging patients to come for more visits that are strictly necessary. "The fee-for-service system encourages that practice," says John Rossini, CEO of Quintessence Solutions, a Toronto-based healthcare consulting firm. "It's revealing about medicine, and it makes the level of quality worse."

Dr. Alan Katz, professor of medicine at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, adds Murphy. "Usually seeing 60 patients a day can provide quality health care."

Surprisingly, fully seven out of 10 doctors agree that some of their colleagues are maintaining their incomes by seeing patients when it is not strictly necessary. But almost four out of 10 defend the practice as "the only reasonable response to an ever-worsening patient schedule."

And those who have not accustomed to full-termpation pay a price. "I only see what I have to see," insists Dr. Louise Cloutier, a general practitioner in Dorchester, N.S. "And I only do what's required in terms of follow-up. But my fees have been reduced 25 per cent over the past six years, and my costs for overhead and staff have not been cut. The less you get, the more income payments stay the same."

When asked about the doctors' wide-spread belief that their profession is seeing patients only to maintain income levels, officials at the Canadian Medical Association declined to comment.

Inevitably, professional morale suffers. "I've never seen it so low as it is today," says Dr. Robert Wetzel, who works in an eight-doctor family practice clinic in Toronto. "And it's not just the dollars being taken out of the system. It's the uncertainty about what's coming next, the lack of clarity about government intentions."

Increasingly, it seems, the Canadian medical community sees itself as undervalued. "It's a feeling of not being appreciated," says Dr. Sid Brown, an emergency physician at Peel Memorial Hospital in Brampton, Ont. "It's going out of the way to do your best and not being anybody cares about you. It's reflected in the morale, and

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'Patients no longer see doctors as holy healers'

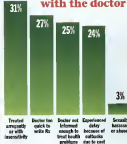
**Claim: 'My fees have been reduced 25 per cent over the past six years, and my costs have not been cut'**

in the salary cuts by government. Quite literally, your services are not as valued." Indeed, the doctors' poll found that almost one in four physicians is now dissatisfied with their profession, compared with only one out of 10 in 1992.

"Don't get me wrong," says Dr. David Cross, a general practitioner in South, Man. "I love the people and the rural life. But I earn \$15.65 per office visit. Now take 40 per cent off for expenses—rent, secretary, heat and equipment. Then I pay the government 50 per cent of what's left. I'm left, you do it the best human people think it is." On an hourly basis, says Dr. Marlene Sprunt, president of the Ontario College of Family Physicians, members of her association "are not paid significantly more than secondary school teachers with a master's degree."

Although the Maclean's survey demonstrates that three out of four Canadians (78 per cent) think the amount of money practitioners now earn is fair, only 54 per cent of doctors agree they are adequately compensated. One much-debated solution in the compensation dispute is putting the country's doctors on salary. Calgary's Sydnorick, for one, thinks "that might be a better way to go." And

## Patient problems with the doctor



many other physicians agree. Six out of 10 doctors surveyed said they would be willing to give up their net income reduced in exchange for a salaried position with a reasonable pension plan and other benefits.

Yet, while acknowledging that some physicians are guilty of abusing the fee-for-service system, many observers—doctors and patients alike—think there is culpability on both sides of the examination table. "It's rampant consumerism," says family physician Dr. Mark Dudgeon, who runs a clinic in east-end Toronto. "There is a massive sense of entitlement. The patient comes in saying, 'This is what I want.' And the doctor, afraid to say no, afraid of formal complaints being lodged, merely capitulates."

Were it not for the current revenue pressures, doctors might have more time to bend their patients and explain why, for example, complete batteries of neurological tests are not required for every tension headache. But as Dr. Alan Katz notes, "If you're seeing 60 patients a day, you can't take the time to educate them about those things. So you opt for the quick fix."

And that, says Eric Lewis, a former Toronto Transit Commission driver now living on a disability allowance in Curtis, Ont., outside Toronto, is precisely what many patients demand. "The consumer is not satisfied until he walks out the door with a big band," says Lewis, whose brain scans were showed as a car accident seven years ago and who has spent hundreds of hours since then in doctors' offices. "Without a prescription, he doesn't feel serviced. And if he isn't treated that day, if he doesn't get it, he will go elsewhere. The doctor, of course, wants to keep him happy, so he gives him the drug."

Still, as the Maclean's survey shows, most Canadians continue to express remarkably high levels of satisfaction with their physicians—when the way in which they get their medical questions answered (88 per cent), in the level of concern shown (88 per cent), in the amount of time spent dealing with their problems (81 per cent). Moreover, seven out of 10 of those polled think physicians are well informed, are not too quick to write prescriptions, and generally treat them, in the words of the poll's questionnaire, without arrogance or insensitivity. Only one out of four say they have experienced delays due to cutbacks in the system.

"I have been lucky enough to deal with excellent general practi-

## Patient satisfaction with the doctor

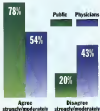


Why in which the doctor answered questions



## Doctors' income

"I think the money doctors earn is fair considering the hours they work and the training they have."



teachers and spectators I have had complete faith in," says Candie Watkins, 34, a high-school home economics teacher in Coquitlam, B.C. She had the same family physician for 15 years and, when he retired, the new general practitioner moved extra time (including) himself with her medical history. Waiting, she concedes, can sometimes be a problem, but Watkins does not blame her doctor. "It's the patient who comes in for an excuse and then insists on having his name back, his hacking cough and skin rash looked at as well," she says. "People have to be more realistic about why they're seeing their doctor. You can't go every time you break a fingernail."

Not surprisingly, perhaps, when doctors become patients, their evaluation of the service they receive is even more positive than that of ordinary Canadians. Only 15 per cent of the doctor-patients say that their physicians have behaved arrogantly or unreasonably—compared with the 31 per cent of the public that reports such treatment. And while only the per cent of the doctors surveyed think physicians are too quick with the prescription pad, more than one in four (27 per cent) regular patients holds that view.

"We are served by the drug industry," says Larus Flannick, executive director of the B.C.-based Health Action Network Society, a nonprofit educational charity that researchers "complementary medicine." "That's their range of weaponry. They don't consider alternatives. For some reason, they develop this attitude that scientific methodology is the only thing credible, and anybody with another opinion has got to be crazy or uneducated." Even many doctors think the profession's reliance on drugs, especially expensive drugs, is unnecessary. "There are lots of things we could explain drugs around," says Dr. Brown, who is also an associate of St. Mary's Hospital's Institute for Clinical Evaluative Sciences in Toronto. "But nobody really markets them. For example, Celebrex, which is used for aches, is an expensive and very effective drug." But most doctors, Brown says, instead prescribe the more expensive, best-selling Zanax.

In fact, despite the generally favorable rating physicians receive, nearly four out of 10 Canadian (38 per cent) have been untreated enough to switch doctors. The principal reason for switching being treated arrogantly or unreasonably. "I guess I've just had bad luck with doctors," laughs Ken Doucette, 68, a retired farmer living in Dysart, Sask.

## Many patients want their doctors to spend more time seeing them



Mikego: "Here's what you have, here's your prescription and here's the door"

"One guy told me I'd had an ulcer attack when I had gallstones. Another doctor told me I had cancer, which I didn't. And another told me I needed to have spinal fusion carried out, and said I'd be in my bed for three months. Fortunately, I got a second opinion, and was out of the hospital in eight days."

Others agree that the profession seems to breed arrogance, but say that finding sympathetic doctors is not difficult. "When I was younger," says Vancouverite Hilkey, "I had them in some sort of awe. I would listen to what they told me and just do it. Now, I question what they say, based on the knowledge I have. It's the same in questioning peer surgeons or even regular gys." Among physicians, there is more ambivalence about treating patients armed with an attitude. On the one hand, two out of three say they would rather deal with a patient who is over-anxious than one who relies solely on them. On the other, about one-third think it is harder to treat patients who have done some reading on a condition than it is to treat those who have read nothing.

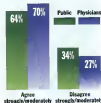
Gender plays a part in the findings, with women tending to experience more problems with their doctors than male patients do. More than one-third (37 per cent) cite incidents of arrogance or insensitivity, compared with just one out of four men. And six per cent say they have been sexually harassed by physicians, no rates reported having encountered such abuse. Doctors, however, frequently mention a different form of harassment: more than three-quarters (77 per cent) claim they have been verbally abused by patients or their relatives.

The doctor-patient relationship, of course, lies at the very core of attitudes about the health-care system. And its erosion, many observers suspect, is part of a deeper malaise, one that is restructuring vast stretches of the broad or landscape. Publisher Greenville, for one, regards it as "yet another tear in the social fabric," one that may well get worse before it can get better.

MICHAEL POSNER

## Extra billing for extra visits

"I feel some doctors encourage people to come for more visits than are strictly necessary, in order to maintain income levels."



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*It used to return again and again.*

*But now my life is essentially back to normal.*

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And consult your physician

**M**ary Jane Fogarty supplied the hypodermic needle that her emotionally troubled but lively, Brenda Barrett, 34, used to give herself the fatal insulin injection. Moreover, Fogarty wrote the letter permissives found in May 1996, beside the body of the part-time cleaner, who suffered from a terminal disease but had already tried to commit suicide more than 30 times. Fogarty was even, it turns out, the beneficiary of Barrett's life insurance policy. Yet, during the meeting that first took place last month in Halifax, the 28-year-old waitress testified that she agonized over her trend the needle to use her street drugs and decided that the letter was a suicide note. "My client testified that she did not intentionally help Brenda Barrett commit suicide," declared her lawyer, Anne Derrick. On Oct. 23, after more than 14 hours of deliberation, the jury decided otherwise. Fogarty seemed utterly devastated when she was found guilty of aiding and abetting a suicide—manslaughter pending 14 years in jail—making her one of the few Canadians convicted of that crime.

It was one verdict that no one seemed particularly overjoyed about. "I'm just relieved it is over," Cassandra Marshall, Barrett's niece, told reporters after the jury read its decision. "I was just talking to mom and she's just glad to be able to put Brenda to rest." But the wrenching debate continues. The issue of ending life through euthanasia or assisted suicide and using medical techniques and technologies for artificial conception—these are at the center of some of the toughest social, ethical and legal questions of our day. And, as the Fogarty case and the *Marshall/McNeil/Pat/Angus Reid* survey reveal, the answers are unlikely to become less painful.

Assisting a suicide, after all, is still an offence under a life-sized section of Canada's Criminal Code. But the pressure is mounting to change the 130-year-old law continues to build. In 1993, Canadians watched transfixed as Sue Rodriguez, a B.C. woman diagnosed with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, commonly known as Lou Gehrig's disease, unsuccessfully argued in the Supreme Court of Canada for the legal right to an assisted suicide. Five months later, in February,



**Fogarty helped, Derrick arriving in court convicted by the jury's verdict**

Dr. "There is a big difference to how you respond to something if it is in the abstract, or if you will have to deal with it in a reality," says Sioyay.

But Ed Heiner Kluge, an opponent at the University of Victoria, and a former director of ethics and legal affairs at the CMA, maintains that doctors' relative reluctance to support euthanasia and assist in suicide may spring from something more fundamental. For starters, Kluge points to the medical profession's conservative, group mind set, which, he says, tends to stifle independent viewpoints. And, he adds, "it is dangerous that physicians have a much greater fear of death than any other segment of society."

Still, doctors have plenty of company when it comes to sharing concerns over another theory mine. Since 1978, the year of the birth of the world's first test-tube baby, there has been a mushrooming of new medical technologies designed to help otherwise infertile couples have children. But the social, ethical and legal questions have also steadily risen. Indeed, more than half the people surveyed in the Maclean's poll said they supported helping single women conceive. That figure dropped to about one-third when it came to using new technology and procedures to help lesbian couples and over 50 have children. And when it came to helping women over 50, support fell to 27 per cent.

That lack of public enthusiasm was readily apparent during hearings by the federal government's four-year, \$26-million Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies, which submitted a 1,200-page report with 260 recommendations in November 1993. The commissioners heard everyone from members of religious organizations to scientific researchers express grave concerns about technologies that allow procreation to bear children and create a child with "more different" parents than he or she has. "We fear a future that combines Margaret Atwood's *Hunger* with the Tale, where lower-class women are employed as the breeders for a more privileged class, and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* of manufactured, made-to-order people," the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, which represents some 600 organizations, told the commission.

## Physician-assisted suicide

"There are some circumstances under which physicians should definitely be free to help patients commit suicide."



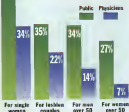
use of surrogate mothers and abortion based on gender. Her opponents say new biotechnology is developing one legislation that will create a public commission as well as a permanent management body to look after issues in the area.

As for assisted suicides and euthanasia, they appear to have fallen off the federal government's agenda. That is something Mary Fogarty may be thinking about when she stands on Dec. 15 before a Halifax judge and waits to receive her sentence.

JOHN DUMONT in Halifax

# AN ETHICAL clash

## Support for assisted reproduction and treatment for infertility



*There is profound disagreement between doctors and the public on such life-and-death issues as assisted suicide and using medical techniques for artificial conception. In all cases, the public is more liberal than the doctors.*

2004, Rodriguez died while being comforted by MP Svend Robinson, who said she had discussed "arrangements for her death" with a doctor. Equally controversial was the 1994 conviction of Saskatchewan teacher Robert Latimer of second-degree murder after he admitted killing his severely disabled 12-year-old daughter, Tracy, in and her suffering. And a new challenge looms from Austin Destefano, 53, a Windsor, Ont., man who suffers from chronic progressive multiple sclerosis. He plans to seek an assisted suicide before year's end.

Meanwhile, for one, is frustrated by Ontario's unwillingness to act. Earlier this year, a special Senate committee devoted by a long to-do margin that Canada's existing assisted-suicide law needed an amendment. But, as the Maclean's survey shows, that doctors hardly reflect public opinion. Nearly two-thirds of respondents agree, either moderately or strongly, with the idea that doctors should have the right, in some circumstances, to help patients take their own lives. The powerful Rodriguez and Latimer

dramas appear to have galvanized public opinion. And John Wilson, founder and executive director of The Right to the Society of Canada, argues that the question of choice is the real issue. "The principle of self-determination is a very good one for most people," he explains. "To lose the right to determine how you die is to lose something fundamental."

The high degree of public support comes in no surprise to Margaret Somerville, director of McGill University's Centre for Medicine, Ethics and Law in Montreal. She attributes the public's willingness to embrace physician-assisted death to society's changing moral and spiritual framework. "Nothing is sacred anymore, even human life," she declares. "Euthanasia and assisted suicide are a logical response to a world in which death is no longer a mystery but a problem to be dealt with." That said, Somerville insists it hardly reflects that support for assisted suicide is strongest in British Columbia (77 per cent), where, she explains, people place unusual value on "being young, beautiful and healthy."

Doctors, regardless of where they practice, tend to take a different view on things. Our survey shows that just under one-half of Canadian doctors support physician-assisted suicide—and the Canadian Medical Association (CMA), the other medical societies from around the world, publicly opposes euthanasia and assisted suicides. Dr. Douglas Swain, a Red Deer, Alta., psychologist and chairman of the Canadian Medical Association's ethics committee, suggests a reason for the discrepancy between doctors and the pub-

# A SPECIAL bond

Doctors and patients consider matters affecting them both

The Maclean's Medical Post/Verge Acid survey of the public's and doctors' views on health care consisted of two separate polls. The poll of public attitudes was conducted by telephone with 1,505 randomly selected Canadians, 18 years or older, in all 10 provinces between Sept. 21 and 24. The results are considered accurate within 3.5 percentage points, above or below the figures given. 19 times out of 20. In March and April, 1,710 doctors across Canada were surveyed by mail. The margin of error for that poll is plus or minus 2.4 percentage points. The results of both polls have been rounded off to the nearest whole number and, in some cases, may not add up to 100. Some questions and answers, in percentages, from the two questionnaires:

## RATING THE HEALTH-CARE SYSTEM

### 1 How would you rate Canada's health-care system overall? (Public)

Excellent	23
Very good	32
Good	31
Only fair	13
Poor	3
Very poor	1

(Doctors)

Excellent	6
Very good	38
Good	43
Only fair	10
Poor	5
Very poor	0



### 2 What are your expectations for health care 30 years from now? It will be: (Public)

Better	15
Same	25
Worse	58

### (Doctors)

Better	7
Same	25
Worse	78

### 3 "If I had a serious illness or injury, I would prefer to be treated in the United States." (Public) Agree strongly

Agree moderately	4
Disagree moderately	17

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	7
Agree moderately	12
Disagree moderately	36
Disagree strongly	44

### 4 "I think it would be OK if Canada developed two levels of health care: a basic service that the government funded for everyone, and another under which those who could afford it paid the full amount and received whatever kind of services they wanted." (Public)

Agree strongly	19
Agree moderately	29
Disagree moderately	36
Disagree strongly	42

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	37
Agree moderately	32
Disagree moderately	14
Disagree strongly	15

### 5 "I believe the quality of medical care in this world is better in Canada but not suited for universal medicine, but had kept some form of private insurance." (Public)

Agree strongly	13
Agree moderately	25
Disagree moderately	26
Disagree strongly	34

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	30
Agree moderately	26
Disagree moderately	22
Disagree strongly	20

### 6 "There are some circumstances under which physicians should definitely be free to help patients commit suicide." (Public)

Agree strongly	38
Agree moderately	29
Disagree moderately	24
Disagree strongly	9

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	16
Agree moderately	33
Disagree moderately	20
Disagree strongly	28

### 7 "I think doctors should be able to prescribe medicine anywhere in Canada, even though the government says some parts of the country have too many doctors and some parts too few." (Public)

Agree strongly	29
Agree moderately	32
Disagree moderately	21
Disagree strongly	17

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	36
Agree moderately	32
Disagree moderately	22
Disagree strongly	10

### 8 "If I had a serious illness or injury, I would prefer to be treated in the United States." (Public) Agree strongly

Agree moderately	4
Disagree moderately	17

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	38
Agree moderately	29
Disagree moderately	24
Disagree strongly	9

### 9 "There are some circumstances under which physicians should definitely be free to help patients commit suicide." (Public)

Agree strongly	38
Agree moderately	29
Disagree moderately	24
Disagree strongly	9

Agree moderately	40
Disagree moderately	13
Disagree strongly	7

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	30
Agree moderately	24
Disagree moderately	21
Disagree strongly	22

### 10 "I feel some doctors encourage people to come for more visits than are strictly necessary, in order to maintain income levels." (Public)

Agree strongly	26
Agree moderately	26
Disagree moderately	18
Disagree strongly	16

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	26
Agree moderately	45
Disagree moderately	19
Disagree strongly	8

### 11 Percentage of patients who were "extremely" or "very" satisfied with their doctor, in terms of: (Public)

Way in which the doctor answered their questions	68
Level of concern shown	68
Amount of time spent	61
Length of time spent waiting in the office	44

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	26
Agree moderately	45
Disagree moderately	19
Disagree strongly	8

### 12 "I think doctors should be able to prescribe medicine anywhere in Canada, even though the government says some parts of the country have too many doctors and some parts too few." (Public)

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Agree strongly	16
Agree moderately	33
Disagree moderately	20
Disagree strongly	28

### 14 "Percentage of physicians who strongly or moderately agree that: Patients who become more health conscious"

Doctors are spending more time on preventive medicine	70
Doctors would rather deal with a more informed patient than one who relies wholly on them	67
Patients who have done some reading on a condition are harder to trust than those who have done none	51

### 15 "Percentage of physicians who say they have been: Intimidated by a patient or their relatives"

Pressured from drug seekers to prescribe narcotics	77
Threatened with violence by a patient or their relatives	69
The threat of real overtones by a patient or their relatives	41
Burglaries or vandalism at the office	36
Physically assaulted by a patient or their relatives	19

### 16 "Percentage of physicians who feel that government-imposed cost controls have made it impossible for them to: Prescribe a medication they felt was most appropriate"

Keep a patient in hospital for the appropriate time	45
Administer a patient who requires hospitalization	42
Order the appropriate tests	29
Request or perform the required surgical procedure	13

### 17 "Percentage of physicians who strongly or otherwise agree that: Government policy 'unreasonably restricts' their ability to provide medicine"

Single women	63
Lesbian couples	25
Men over 50	24
Women over 50	27

### (Doctors)

Single women	22
Lesbian couples	24
Men over 50	14
Women over 50	7

### 18 "There are some circumstances under which physicians should definitely be free to help patients commit suicide." (Public)

Agree strongly	38
Agree moderately	29
Disagree moderately	24
Disagree strongly	9

Agree strongly	43
Agree moderately	27
Disagree moderately	21
Disagree strongly	6

### 19 "I am going to the doctor less often because of concern for the cost to the health-care system." (Public)

Agree strongly	22
Agree moderately	18
Disagree moderately	23
Disagree strongly	33

### (Doctors)

Agree strongly	26
Agree moderately	45
Disagree moderately	19
Disagree strongly	8

### 20 "I think doctors should be able to prescribe medicine anywhere in Canada, even though the government says some parts of the country have too many doctors and some parts too few." (Public)

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Disagree strongly	28

## DOCTORS-ONLY QUESTIONS

### 14 Percentage of physicians who strongly or moderately agree that:

Patients who become more health conscious	55
Doctors are spending more time on preventive medicine	70
Doctors would rather deal with a more informed patient than one who relies wholly on them	67
Patients who have done some reading on a condition are harder to trust than those who have done none	51

### 15 Percentage of physicians who say they have been:

Intimidated by a patient or their relatives	77
Pressured from drug seekers to prescribe narcotics	69
Threatened with violence by a patient or their relatives	41
The threat of real overtones by a patient or their relatives	36
Burglaries or vandalism at the office	19

### 16 Percentage of physicians who feel that government-imposed cost controls have made it impossible for them to:

Prescribe a medication they felt was most appropriate	49
Keep a patient in hospital for the appropriate time	45
Administer a patient who requires hospitalization	42
Order the appropriate tests	29
Request or perform the required surgical procedure	13

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Disagree moderately	20
Disagree strongly	28



That is best for their patients. 62

Capable of doctors' incomes is adversely affecting the time patients must wait to see a specialist. 57

They hesitate to book follow-up appointments out of concern for doctors' resources. 40

The "only reasonable response" they can make to avoid shrinking fee payments is to see patients more often. 38

Percentage of physicians willing to reduce their net income in exchange for a reduced position with a reasonable pension plan and other benefits, including paid vacation. 61

Of these physicians, maximum income reduction they would consider: 30

Between 11 and 20 per cent. 26

Between 21 and 30 per cent. 26

More than 31 per cent. 16



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# HIGHWAY HORROR SHOW

BY RAE CORRELL

**A**t 11:45 a.m. on Sept. 29, Donald Oles was driving home for lunch, enjoying southern Ontario's warm, early autumn sunshine, when a pair of dual wheels broke off a passing truck and obliterated the front half of his 19-year-old Chevrolet. "One minute I was doing 50 miles an hour," Oles said later, "and the next minute I wasn't moving." The 46-year-old award-winning insurance saleswoman in an hourglass of 50 Colborne, trapped for minutes and a sore neck and dislocated the

following day. The truck, which had been travelling in the opposite direction on the divided, four-lane highway, did not stop and has not been located. Police say it was probably a tractor trailer and the driver not unaware that he had lost the wheels.



OPP's Wootley checking truck-wheel fasteners 76-vehicle crash in Barrie, Ont., last April, flying wheels, rollovers and runaways

Other's in a close encounter with 200 lb. of flying steel and rubber was a first-hand experience with a frightening phenomenon: the apparent increase in the number of spectacular and often fatal accidents caused by poorly maintained trucks on congested, high-speed multi-lane freeways. No national agency keeps comprehensive statistics on truck-related accidents. But so far this year, in southern Ontario alone, several people have been killed and scores injured by flying wheels, rollovers and runaways. "They are the least well served yet for accidents caused by mechanical factors in trucks," says Ontario Provincial Police Senior Const. Cam Wootley, a truck-accident investigation specialist. The Canadian Automobile Association (CAA) believes the hazard is continent-wide and has urged Transport Canada to investigate areas such as trailer design. "We feel pretty strongly that there are keys to solve here," says CAA President Brian Brink.

Nowhere in Canada are there more lives at stake than in the asphalt network that slices across southern Ontario from the Quebec border to Windsor. That is partly because of the sheer volume of traffic. "You guys in Ontario have got more motor vehicles on Highway 401 in two days than we've got in the whole of Nova Scotia," says Aubrey Martel, the director of motor vehicle insurance in Nova Scotia. But the trouble with traffic is not just their numbers but their conditions—and the result is often sudden death.

At 11:10 a.m. last Jan. 31, Angela Wozniak, 31, was killed on westbound Highway 401 near Whitley Crest, when a set of dual wheels broke loose from an eastbound tractor trailer, careened off the median guardrail and crashed her Pontiac Grand Am. A po-

liceman at the scene said he initially thought from the state of the car that it was a convertible. At the request of the first incident and a similar fatal accident in Mississauga, Ont., on April 3, investigators testified that, in the Wootley case, eight of the 20 fasteners holding the truck wheels together on the axle were so loose they could be turned by hand. Last week, after a month-long inquiry, the coroner's jury recommended higher standards for licensing drivers and truck maintenance and safer laws for those liable partly of passing them, current fines for failing to maintain wheels average about \$250. Last week, provincial transportation minister N. Palladini said he would crack down on the industry within six months, introducing reforms such as mandatory licensing for wheel installers and graduated licensing for truck drivers.

Unsafe trucks not only threaten life and limb, they cause economic losses as well. Lawsuits arising from death or injury, the insurance claims of truck owners and shippers, and the losses experienced by businesses when highways are blocked (on a freeway, three to five hours is not uncommon) add up to tens of millions of dollars each year. Shippers cite flight and cargo is left sitting at airports. Some factories are forced to slow or suspend production because they have run out of parts. Employers have to pay overtime because relief shifts are stuck in traffic. Passengers miss their planes and money wind up stranded in airports. "A truck accident blocks an entire highway," says Wootley. "It absolutely cripples the local economy."

In an attempt to get with trucks and frustrated drivers off the road and to punish their operators, Canada, the United States and Mexico each year conduct a co-ordinated three-day highway blitz. During the 1990 campaign last June, police and government inspectors at the three countries examined more than 54,000 trucks. Even though the operation had been well publicized in advance, more than one-fifth of the vehicles showed up in inspection stations with bad brakes, insecure loads, loose wheel fasteners or dangerously bald tires or in general disrepair. They were grounded on the spot. In some cases, drivers were either unbelted, unqualified or fatigued. "In the back of my mind, I'm thinking what if they did it in lower time inspections were going on," says John Mord at the Saskatchewan highway transportation department compliance branch. "The results would probably have been worse."

Although the three-nation average of trucks ordered out of service during last year's blitzes was down slightly from last year's, several participating provinces reported increases. British



Columbia's rate rose to 28 from 23 per cent, Saskatchewan's almost doubled to 22 from 12 per cent, Quebec went to 13 from nine per cent, and Ontario led with more than 43 per cent, roughly the same as last year but up sharply from 1989's 33 per cent. "The fact that we have seen no change between 1986 and 1995 makes us think there has been no change in the industry's commitment to safety—up or down," says Rick Wootley, director of the Ontario ministry of transportation's compliance branch. Adds Brian Jones, the ministry's Kitchener-based enforcement coordinator, "The industry is still not taking accidents seriously." The CAA's Hall echoes that view. Last year, he says, there were 2,580 reports across North America of wheels coming off trucks. "That's what was reported," he says. "We think it's much higher than that."

• At 9:55 p.m. last April 3, James Tyrrell, 31, a Stouffville credit manager, was driving along the eastbound Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW) in Mississauga, Ont., on his way to a ball hockey game when two wheels flew off a westbound tractor trailer. Police found one of them a kilometre away. The other crashed onto the roof of Tyrrell's Toyota. Within five, five hundred down the highway while motorists screamed frantically to avoid it.

Police testifying at the same inquest that investigated Wozniak's death near Whitley Crest and not prevented the truck's dual wheels from flying further property.

But truck analysis on the heavily travelled QEW sometimes go unexplained. On Sept. 18, a tanker truck westbound on the same highway between Hamilton and St. Catharines at 3 a.m. suddenly swung across the median and rolled over. Driver James Kosciancy, 29, of Holland, N.Y., was killed. Investigators still haven't figured out why the truck rolled in a totally out of control.

What bothers police and provincial transportation enforcement authorities is the lack of nationally based information about how, and under what circumstances, trucks come to grief. For example, Transport Canada each year publishes statistics on the number of heavy trucks involved in collisions that killed or injured someone. There were more than 8,300 in 1992, the latest year for which figures are available, including 425 described as "fatal." But in one instance what kind of vehicles they were, how many people died at them or if with critical medical aid, or driver competence played a role. Says Wootley, "There is a wealth load of statistics on truck accidents."

Not that any one province is to blame. There are so many accidents, especially in Ontario. One theory is that high axle weights—the load limits permitted on the highway—use a factor. The limit in Ontario, which allows double trailers, is 140,000 lb., the highest in North America. The U.S. maximum on interstate highways is 80,000 lb. But Hunt wonders whether the answer lies elsewhere. "It is a situation where people are fighting for freight, trucking prices and therefore can't afford to maintain their vehicles," he adds.

There is no lack of pressure to find and fix the

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## TRANSPORT

problem: The Ontario Trucking Association, which wants the province to close down carriers with poor safety records, has been using the provincial government to introduce graduated driver licensing, a more rigorous driving test for truckers and even tougher enforcement. In fact, there is much at stake for the industry, which is both enormous and essential to the Canadian economy. Three-quarters of all the goods shipped in Canada is carried by trucks, and 150,000 people—two-fifths of all those employed in the transportation sector—work for trucking companies. More than 50,000 trucking firms move 1.5 million vehicles, mainly in one from delivery vans to 18-wheelers, half of them registered in Ontario and Quebec. Most of them roll through the year without incident. Most, but not all.

At 5:05 p.m. last Aug. 26, the driver of an over-the-road tractor trailer hit and crushed the long light-colored pickup on the Second Narrows Bridge in North Vancouver. The truck crashed into the air of a nearby Ontario couple, killed and injured three of them. The driver of the pickup was killed and the driver of the truck was seriously injured.

The truck continued down the hill, bounced off a bridge abutment and came to rest at right angles to the road. The driver, Benjamin Singh, 35, was also killed. A British Columbia government transport inspector said later the truck's brakes were in good condition as to make them "virtually useless in stopping this vehicle."

The OPP's Woolley is a member of the Greater Toronto Region traffic unit. Its main focus: commercial vehicle accidents and periodic, unannounced trucker safety blitzes on provincial highways from Hamilton west to Port Hope. Woolley has been checking these roads for 35 years and is an acknowledged truck expert.

At headquarters in the Toronto suburb of Downsview, he shows a video of a burned, overturned, burning and broken truck and he recites the findings of investigators: defective brakes, no insurance, expired, stolen or bootlegged provincial inspection certificates, trailers leaking corrosive by-products, missing lights, headlights held on with coat hangers and fuel tank caps held on with bungee cords, loose steering, holes in exhaust stacks, excessive over-the-road shipping containers secured only by gravity because the restraining latches were broken. "The year by year experience has suggested that up to a third of truck accidents are caused by mechanical defects," says Woolley. "But this

year defects and insecure loads have figured in just over half of serious accidents. Mechanical defects are a factor in only about five per cent, if that, of car accidents." Acknowledges Woolley: "There may be a lot of cars out there that aren't in very good shape—but they're not carrying 50 tons of freight."

There are two other parts of the problem—the people who drive the trucks and the mechanics who service them. In Canada, truckers are forbidden to drive more than 13 hours in every 28 (2) or 30 hours in the United States) to reduce the perils created by fatigue. But in a tough economy and amid ever-increasing competition, some drivers ignore the restriction. Early last August, a tractor trailer from Pembroke, Ont., went through a red light just north of Toronto, hit a car broadside and crashed through the wall of a restaurant. Police found the driver had filed the restriction on the logbook. The law requires him to carry, and he had been driving as much as 35 hours a day because he was paid by the hour. "We've seen them kill people doing that," says Woolley.

Fatigue is not the only safety issue. Every province and U.S. state requires drivers to inspect as many as 27 points on their rigs—brakes, air brakes, lights, tires and so forth—before they move onto a highway. But many drivers don't do it. "A lot of them will openly agree that if they checked their vehicles the way they were supposed to, they couldn't make any money because it's too much trouble," says Woolley. Saskatchewan's Mead puts it even more strongly: "There are truck drivers," he says, "who are not interested in compliance and have left their morality behind when they jump behind the wheel."

None of the provinces regulates driver training, subjects drivers to testing or requires training or licensing for the people who install and service truck wheels. "It's critical that they be put on an property and trust the licensees be sighted properly," says Woolley. "There's a whole bunch of things you have to know and any one mistake will result in the wheel flying off." The only tasks reserved by law for mechanics repairing and servicing brakes and steering.

At 11:00 a.m. last Aug. 30, Alby Woot, 5, and his 10-year-old brother Jason were sitting in a car parked outside a store on Mountain Road, the steep main street in Okanagan, B.C. A runaway gravel truck barreled down the street and rammed the one sitting Alby and seriously injuring his brother, who spent three weeks in hospital with broken legs, arms and ribs. Police charged the driver—who had parked from the truck when he found he could not stop it—with operating an unsafe vehicle and driving



Woot's car after it was hit by a flying truck wheel sudden death

ing to carry and a pre-trip inspection. The maximum penalty for each offence: \$500 and six months in jail. One OPP sergeant says the use of fines is around \$250, and he has never heard of anyone going to jail for either infraction.

It is approaching 11 p.m. on an unusually clear night. September night, and Woolley is checking trucks from the roaring, unrelenting traffic flow with the skill of a cowboy circling steers out of a stampede. He charges back and forth on the 16-lane Toronto by-

pass stretch of Highway 404—which carries 280,000 vehicles a day—looking for mistakes. But a lot of truckers quickly recognize Woolley and his police station wagon, and his car radio crackles with their warnings that Woolley is in their midst.

Still, he does pretty well, pulling over a dozen trucks in seven hours. He escorts them one by one to a big unused yard just off the highway where government inspectors in orange overalls collaborated with yellow X's wait in the glare of floodlights to ex-

amine his prizes. "The first is a dump truck with six potentially disastrous cracks in a rear wheel and a along inspection sticker on the windshield. The inspectors remove the license plates, and if the owner wants his truck back, he will have to tow it away. The driver of an tractor trailer has only an ordinary automobile driver's license. His windshield wipers do not work, his brakes are out of adjustment, his air brake hoses are defective, and his inspection sticker has expired."

In the unannounced two-day blitz, part of a larger border-to-border operation that stretched from Quebec to Windsor, Ont., Woolley and several other OPP officers stopped 178 trucks into the all-nighter inspection yard. One was a tractor trailer loaded with long metal whose driver tried vainly to elude inspection and went through a red light. Ninety-four—or 33 per cent—were not allowed to leave without repairs, servicing or qualified drivers, and police distributed 113 fines. "It's worth talking for a sleep to make sure the guy he likes to haul his trailer has a good safety record," says Woolley. "These trucks are like lifelines and you don't want to see your advertisement on the side of a truck come up again." As far as the public is concerned, by odds, "this situation is reminiscent of where impaired driving was 20 years ago. What we had then and what we have now is a wake-up call." To the families of those killed by trucks out of control or falling apart, it is a wake-up call tragically long overdue. □

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## CRIME

# The brutal truth

Violent gangs instill fear in once-staid Ottawa

When police entered the apartment, the air was still heavy with the smell of burned flesh. On the floor lay the body of 17-year-old Sylvain Leduc, dead of asphyxiation after being tortured and beaten for 3½ hours. Beside him lay another teenage boy and two of his female cousins, still alive but also badly beaten—and one of the girls had been sexually molested with a hot curling iron. These heinous crimes occurred in the early morning hours of Oct. 26, in a high-rise apartment in the Ottawa suburb of Nepean. And they have left many residents of the urban's capital wondering how safe they normally stand and react: cry really in "sadistic torture and murder—here?" asked Marcene Choens, who lives with her husband and baby daughter down the street from the high-rise where Leduc died. "It's supposed to happen in other places."

Ottawa has long liked to think that real danger lurks in places like Toronto and Montreal. But there have been 16 murders in the capital this year, compared with seven for all of 1984. The killing of Leduc and the brutality of the crimes have stirred fear and swirling rumors, even as police have urged people not to panic. And as two suspects remained at large last week—and as members of the gang to which they belong taunted Leduc's family, witnesses and police—Ottawa's fears seemed very real indeed.

The nighttime trial of witnesses ended in

Yanver, a municipality within Ottawa. On Oct. 26, a gun-toting man burst into Leduc's home and grabbed the teenage girl's 16-year-old cousin. The man took her to an apartment building on Banner Road in Nepean, then returned to Yanver to abduct Leduc and the two other teens. In the Nepean high-rise, Leduc was tortured with a curling iron, beaten and asphyxiated. While one of his cousins was sexually assaulted, the other two teens were beaten. "They were prepared to kill all four if they had had the time," said Ottawa-Carleton police Sgt. Garry Rae.

Hours after the kidnappings, police, who were investigating reports of gangbros in the area, quickly arrested an teen running from the Banner Road high-rise. But three others believed responsible for the killing escaped. One of them, a 17-year-old girl, was captured on Nov. 1. And by week's end police had charged five teenagers (who cannot be identified under the Young Offenders Act) and three adults—Mark Wilkins, 23, Fiona Bayne, 23, and Doree Crawford, 18, on 40 counts of assault, kidnapping and forcible confinement. Police also named suspects for two other men—Keith Edwards, 25, and 24-year-old John



Suspects Richardson, Edwards (right) wanted by police

Ottawa police conducting search near crime scene: swirling rumors

Richardson—who were still at large but were believed to be in the Ottawa area.

Police said that they have received little cooperation from the suspects already in custody—who likely fear the same kind of attack. But all of them have been linked to the Ace Crew, a black street gang involved in prostitution and in Ottawa's burgeoning crack-cocaine trade. Before the Leduc murder, police had never heard of the Ace Crew, but they have since learned of its street-level drug dealing, some of it occurring just meters from Parliament Hill. Police say they believe that Richardson and Edwards are the gang's leaders. In fact, Richardson, who was released from prison in September after serving two-thirds of a prostitution-related sentence, had been under a court order to stay away from one of the accused. And at week's end, police were checking with anti-gang squads in Montreal and Toronto, seeking links to the Ace Crew, as well as possible connections to American gangs. Rae says he suspects that the same group is responsible for an attack on Oct. 24—the day before the abduction—in which a teenager was taken to the same apartment, shot in the head and left for dead. Not seriously hurt, he escaped after his attackers left, and contacted police.

The fact that the suspects still at large are black and the victims were white has introduced a racial element to the case. In court on Oct. 27, a male relative of Leduc's extended his forefinger and thumb like a gun, pointed it at one of those charged and uttered a racial slur before mauling. "You're dead." And on Oct. 28, several young black men tossed maracas outside the funeral home where Leduc's body was lying, drawing the chalk outline of a body on the pavement and yelling, "One down and three to go." Last week's victim of the sexual assault, who cannot be identified, was moved to a more secure part of a local hospital after police spotted two young men lurking near her room.

Although police concede that youth crime is on the rise—due largely to increased use of crack cocaine—they insist that the city is still safe from gangs. And law enforcement authorities have so far rejected calls for the formation of a special anti-gang squad. But the assaults have not comforted Leduc's parents. Asked his distraught mother, Claude Maher, "How can you be in the wrong place at the wrong time when you are in your own home?" Leduc's stepfather, Claude Barre, had a more visceral reaction to the crimes. "You'd go to be an idiot," declared Barre, "to do something like that."

LENE FISHER in Ottawa



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# New World wars

WARRIORS: TRAVELS OF A MILITARY HISTORIAN IN NORTH AMERICA

By John Keegan  
(Hoy Paper, 309 pages, \$34.95)

As a boy in wartime Britain, John Keegan was an entranced listener to the arrival of the Canadian and American forces. Keegan went on to become a distinguished military historian of the Second World War and author of *The Face of Battle* (1983), a renowned study of battles and campaigns in combat, but he remained fascinated by the North American nation. "Remember the Canadian contribution," was his first remark to President Bill Clinton last year when Keegan was asked to advise the American leader on what to say during the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of D-Day. *Warpaths* is the culmination of 40 years of travel over the hot battlefields in both countries. It argues convincingly that the physical geography of North America has determined its history in a manner unmatched anywhere else.

From the earliest European settlements,

political power in the thinly populated, thickly forested New World relied upon control of the continent's network of waterways. That simple fact determined the location of hundreds of forts by the mid-18th century, Keegan writes. North America was the most landlocked

## Control of the waterways was a key to North American events

ing to evict the French from their fort at the site of modern-day Pittsburgh, Braddock set out evict from Alexandria, Va., on what is now a two-hour drive. It took Braddock's men 13 days to reach their way through the wilderness. With ample warning of the British approach, the French and their native allies slaughtered the redcoats. But escaping

to secure the vital shortcut to the hinterland, the Hudson/Rochester/St. Lawrence passage. For 150 years, hostile colonial powers encamped at opposite ends. Montreal and New York City made the corridor the most heavily fortified and hotly contested warpath in North America. Even after the fall of New France in 1763 gave both ends to the British, their inability to seize the middle of the route from rebellious colonists ensured the final triumph of the American Revolution.

Keegan writes with verve and sympathetic imagination about both commanders and ordinary soldiers, and the daunting obstacles they faced. In a brief description of the disaster that befell British Gen. Edward Braddock on the banks of the Monongahela River in Pennsylvania in 1755, Keegan manages to convey both the violence and mindlessness of 18th-century North America. American



The death of General Wolfe by Benjamin West: enduring poignancy

unscathed were four young men who would play prominent roles in the future: Thomas Gage, who 20 years later would command the British forces at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill; the ageing battleship of the American Revolution, George Clinton, commander of the Americans at Saratoga; in 1777, the turning point of the Revolutionary War; Daniel Boone, pioneer of the wilderness trail through the Appalachians; and

George Washington.

The military historian's inspired sympathy for lost causes—especially those where gallantry and guile combined to stove off an inferior force for a lost cause—bristles with Keegan's professional judgement throughout *Warpaths*. Keegan, who leads the "lingering aftermath of defeat" in the very air of the old Confederacy, shows a high regard for the skill and courage of its armies and a

deep admiration for the South's continuing tradition of military service.

But his emotional sympathy is most powerfully stirred by the epic, lumbered maps of French Canada—the unexplored voyages of discovery that brought its explorers to the mouth of the Mississippi and the approaches to the Rockies, and the long, lone struggle against the British. Keegan is moved by the physical setting of Quebec City, where an entire people's history is visible in a brief walk between the Place d'Armes and the Plains of Abraham. The enduring poignancy of the 1759 struggle for Quebec—"the outcome so chaotic, the cost of character so small, their martyrdom so frail"—crowds his imagination as he considers how close the city came to surviving its dramatic siege. But Keegan the professional military expert also makes it very clear that, once British North America had determined, as it did in the 1790s, to end French power in North America at any cost, the unleashing of forces (55,000) considered opposed to more than one million English-speaking inhabitants in the 18 colonies meant the first outcome was inevitable.

Part tribute to the North American defense forces, part personal memoir, part military study, *Warpaths* is a wholly absorbing treatment of key episodes in the making of Canada and the United States.

BRIAN KETHUNE

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# Talent and timing

A tenor's career is unfolding as he planned

With Andrasenko's words, "No good opens play can be scrutable, for people do not sing when they are looking scrutable." That may certainly be true about most open plays, but it does not apply to Canadian tenor Ben Heppner, one of the finest living stars on the international opera scene. Heppner's management of his career to date, and his refusal to accept new roles before he is ready, show an

University of Toronto. He first attracted national attention when he won the 1979 CBC Radio Competition for Young Performers. But the following few years were tough. While a member of the Toronto-based Canadian Opera Company's ensemble—an apprenticeship program—for several seasons, he scraped out a living by teaching music, working as a church choir director and relying on odd jobs such as restoring houses.

Heppner as Peter Griener, a superb voice and a sense of pacing



Many singers, and especially by tenors, work for years to reach the international limelight. Then, if they finally make it, the demands on them are increased a hundredfold. Suddenly, they are asked to learn and perform every role. Timeframe for a singer

become an act, and, with a number of conductors, arrangers and styles. The stress on the singer and the voice can be devastating. By the time many of them have reached their 30s, their voices have become tired. Muscle and overuse can result in a hoarse, pitched tone and a lack of agility. Despite his long road to stardom, Heppner, who lives in the Toronto suburb of Scarborough, has retained his pressures. He seems determined to take his time with his career and to enjoy it. Born in rural Murrayville, B.C., near Vancouver, he was the youngest of nine children in a Minnesotan farming family. Heppner studied music at the University of British Columbia and the

Meanwhile, he and his wife, Karen, were raising three young children. But then, in 1988, he was as named at the Metropolitan Opera Auditions in New York City, and that was the springboard to an international career. He is now in demand at prestigious opera houses around the world.

The first two solo recordings demonstrate why Heppner has become an opera celebrity. He has a rare tenor voice, known as a *bel canto*, or lyric tenor, that combines flexibility with dynamic power. Some critics say he can be accused of having a "silly" to their sound, but not Heppner: his lyrics are always present. On the Strauss CD, in a

selection from the lesser-known opera *Götterdämmerung*, his power is always a match for the full orchestration, but the lyrical quality remains, even at top volume. And in the track from *Die Fledermaus*, Heppner shows incredible ease and emotion in portraying Falda's love for Daple.

Like the great singers before him, Heppner has a rare ability to change his sound and style according to the repertoire he is singing—a skill that is very evident in *Great Tenor Arias*. In his selections from Verdi operas, such as *Di quella pira* from *A Trovatore*, he shows a sensitivity in the long, plaintive phrases, and in dynamics and diction. Meanwhile, his rendition of the tenor part *Parade* from *Il Trovatore* is one of the best ever on record.

Nine years or eight years into his international career, Heppner has firmly established himself in several signature roles. Heppner is Beckmesser in Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* and the title role in Britten's *Peter Grimes* and Wagner's *Lohengrin*. (This month, RCA Victor Red Seal is releasing a version of *Lohengrin* featuring Heppner, and next month, an album of Heppner performing *Lohengrin* highlights.) The great holiday tenor roles such as *Tristan* and *Siegfried* will come, Heppner says, when he feels physically, emotionally and musically ready.

For the next few months, Heppner is working at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, taking on the roles of Hermann in *Die Walküre* and the title role of *Die Walküre* (which opened on Oct. 20) and reviving his acclaimed role of Walther in Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* (opening on Dec. 4). Then, in January, he sings the role of Cassio in *Macbeth* at the Canadian Opera Company production. Spring will have him in opera houses around the world. Although he could not say any more, he looks forward to 15 or 20 engagements a year.

Canada has been blessed with a long list of world-acclaimed tenors—names such as Edward Johnson, Leopold Stokowski, Richard Veronesi, Rinaldo Ossola and Paul Poldi. But the one to whom Ben Heppner is most often compared is his predecessor, Jon Vickers, the great *Schubert* tenor who rose to world prominence in the late 1950s. Vickers is now a legendary name in the annals of opera. And if Ben Heppner continues to perform as well as he has, he will be the next to be accepted. Canada will have another great tenor to add to the list.

DAVID PHILLIPS

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Pyke (left), Thompson, Waddington: a wildly unconventional romance

### FILMS

## Games people play

**CARRINGTON**

Directed by Christopher Hampton

**H**ad they read through a contemporary personal ad, it might have read something like: "Single gay male iconoclast, soft and uncensored, seeks longtime companionship with androgynous, open minded, lesbian feminist willing to share intellectual tastes, pacifist ideals, house in the country and smooth young men."

Carrington celebrates an English romance that was wildly unconventional for its day—at any day, for that matter: Broadway Group writer Lynton Strachey (Jonathan Pryce) met painter Vera Carrington (Emma Thompson) in 1913, through Vanessa Bell, the sister of author Virginia Woolf. Finding solace in each other's unconventionality, they developed a virtual marriage that endured until Strachey's death, in 1935.

Passionate but platonic, their relationship survived marital affairs on both sides, a marriage to him with a young war widow named Ralph Partridge (Steven Waddington). Carrington's actual marriage to Partridge (Dorothy Atwood) was on her terms, and her fling with her husband's best friend, writer Gerald Brenan (James Wilby).

At the heart of the movie are two compelling performances that make it well worth seeing. Although she is playing an artist who

seems more devoted to men than to art, Thompson brings a discerning intelligence to her role, that of a free spirit keeping the world at bay with a blast, quipped counter. Pryce—who won the best actor prize at the Cannes Film Festival last spring—is wonderfully pale, frail and dyspeptic. He also gets all the best lines, dispensing Strachey's innermost wit and wisdom like a man with a silver tongue.

Carrington, however, just allows the serenity of his character's love, and the filmmaker were more to keep up with them. Directing his first feature, playwright Christopher Hampton (Thompson's husband), who also wrote the script, creates a somewhat dappled narrative. It is rife with distractions, as young men drift in and out of the Carrington-Strachey marriage (including his models

fresh from the set of a Calvin Klein underwear ad. And amid all the couplings and romps, the relationship at the core of Carrington seems sadly neglected. But that sense of frustration at least resonates with the story's tragic conclusion—that in the quick course of a life so busy with diversions, both sexual and intellectual, there is never enough time for love.

**FAIR GAME**

Directed by Andrew Sogin

The "fair game" of the title is model Cindy Crawford, who makes her inexperience debut as a moving target without a bra. Can she

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## FILMS

or? No. But that is almost irrelevant. *Pair Game* is an action movie, a bad action movie, featuring rough bad actors playing bad guys with bad accents that Crawford's lack of talent is almost inconspicuous.

She is cast as a small-time Miami lawyer named Kate who, on the flimsiest premise, becomes a target for a ruthless squad of KGB hit men. William Baldwin plays Max, a cop trying to protect her from the assassins, who give chase in a fleet of jeeps equipped with the most advanced computer surveillance known to man. Accepting Crawford as a lawyer is even harder than accepting her as an actor. Fortunately, she does not have to act like a lawyer in *Pair Game*, which un-

derstands the movie. Crawford and Baldwin near matching diagonal scenes that look extremely nice, even as they darken into each other. Crawford's real character development, however, is in her wardrobe. She first appears in a two-piece jogging suit, then in a suit. (By the way, that would be very dangerous if it did not stop short with a microfilm.) Mapping her too early in the picture, Crawford then evolves through a succession of seemingly shrinking T-shirts, ending with a scintillating cotton shirt, which is destined to get wet.

The real surprise in *Pair Game* lies in waiting for her to actually take her big act. There is some carefully plotted close-up cues—first the shower that she never gets around to taking, then the shower that she doesn't take, but behind frosted glass. Finally, out of the blue, Baldwin acts up the moment of truth in a scene on the road side. "If you're going to put on a clean T-shirt," he says, "you better do it now!" Later, Crawford's exposed nipples actually serve a turning point in the plot, which is a bit much, especially since a moment too long before pulling the trigger.

Cathy Crawford in *Pair Game*—and for a critic, she makes an easy target. But to be fair, she is no worse than the movie.

### THE PROMISE

Directed by Marguerite van Trota

After seeing how much emotional children can be provoked by something as banal as a rehearsal at a hard to imagine the effect of a division as devastating as the Wall. With *The Promise*, German director Marguerite van Trota tells a tale of two lovers, Sophie and Konrad, who are separated by the Wall for 28 years of its exis-

tence. In 1961, Sophie and her friends escape to West Berlin through the sewer system, while Konrad hesitates to follow them down the makeshift. Later, he vows to join Sophie, but is afraid to take the risk. And so Konrad becomes a successful neurophysiologist, the dream of meeting with her, but is paralyzed by concern for his security.

At once symbolic and realistic, the film treats the lovers' romance and the promise of German reunification as metaphors for each other. Sophie is hard-headed and passionate; Konrad has the classic male fear of commitment. Played by two sets of actors over two time frames, they meet only four times in three decades. And both characters remain



Crawford (left), Baldwin: a tale of shrinking Tokyo

somehow opaque—driven not just by events but by the film's rote psychology. Yet Trota, however, recreates Berlin's dark era of division with evocative images. She basically rebuilds the Wall in order to destroy it. And with the final, extraordinary scenes of crowds rejoicing as the Wall comes down, the action of thwarted love straggling to catch up to the tide of history is truly moving.

### HOME FOR THE HOLIDAYS

Directed by John Foster

What is it with Americans and Thanksgiving? They make such a big deal about it, only to repeat the ordeal at Christmas. The promotional blurb for *Home for the Holidays* reads: "On the fourth Thursday in November, 84 million American families will gather together... and wonder why." Those who use the screen as a window into such considerable taboos have gathered together to fill the screen with some of the most insufferable characters ever to inseminate around a turkey. Though not quite a turkey itself,



McDermott (left), Downey Jr., Hunter: comic anarchy, Bette-moment occasional

*Now for the Holidays* is a strange bird, an eccentric mix of comic anarchy and close to the heart family drama—John Hughes meets John Cusack.

Directing her second feature after 1986's *Latin Men Tell*, Julie Pearce does not appear on camera this time. Holly Hunter stars as Claudia, an art restorer who is fired just before flying home for Thanksgiving—leaving behind her teenage daughter (Clare Danes), who announces that she plans to lose her virginity that weekend. Claudia's family reunion soon turns into a heated roller coaster. Her parents include her besotted and overbearing mother (Anne Bancroft), her dad (father) (Charles Durning), who cannot stop shouting home movies, a hokey maternal aunt (Genevieve Chaplin), who carries a torch for the father, a handsome stranger (Dylan McDermott), who has eyes for Claudia, and Claudia's gay grandfather (broader) is wildly misreading Robert Downey Jr., who catches the turkey onto his sister's lap.

In the eye of the family hurricane, Hunter is excellent, as always. And Foster delivers comic mayhem and bittersweet sentiment with a rare edge that reminds Hollywood how much from her lascivious opening close-up of Claudia mixing egg yolk into tomatoes (pearce) lower a credit for Foster's Egg Pictures production company, the director makes a claim that she is making art. But perhaps she is trying too hard. Persevering, *Now for the Holidays* is one family occasion that can be safely missed.

### BLOOD AND DIMITS

Directed by Holly Dale

The title suggests a certain ambivalence to words violence. What is it going to be? Gore or red jelly? *Blood and Dimits* is, in fact, a Canadian vampire movie—about a nice bloodsucker who is not so sure he wants to

be a vampire at all. Shot in Toronto but set in an imaginary Canada, the film attempts a splashy blend of dark drama and offbeat canonicity with mixed results.

His hero is Boja (Gordon Currie), an ex-convict vampire who wakes up after 25 years of hibernation. He awakens into the love of Earl (Justin Louis), a sweetly idiotic character on the run from loan sharks, and Molly (Elaine Cassidy), a sexy, disheveled waitress in a donut shop. He also has to settle some bad blood with a scorned lover, played by Fiona Reid. Police and mob-spawned Boja is a vampire with a conscience. First coming to such the blood of his, he finally goes to work his teeth into some human flesh when confronted by the gangsters chasing Earl—two faces and a crime lord played by director David Cronenberg.

Playing the vampire as a grumpy anti-hero, Currie is a seductive presence. And so in Cassidy, the waitress who falls for him. But the movie never allows much chemistry to develop between them. Instead, Boja spends far too much time being yanked in by Earl, whose chief comic device is to act like that once more.

*Blood and Dimits* marks the dramatic debut of Toronto filmmaker Holly Dale—who conducted the acclaimed documentaries *P4W* and *Reskins on Dime*. Dwelling on the dark beauty of urban decay, she creates arresting visuals with cinematic style. Paul Sarony (*Exorcist*): There is an intriguing concept at work here. But Dale's pacing seems lacking, slow and self-conscious. Too caught up with its own deadpan style, the film has a surprising lack of dramatic bite. *Blood and Dimits* seems torn between being a real vampire movie and another quirky Canadian fable. In the end, it settles for just the threat.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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# What the referendum really means

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

*Gee, Dr. Fotheringham, it is certainly nice to hear you say*

*Stedelin is specifically the phenomenological contemplation of the vacuity in your crackles capricious*

*Well, like, I'm really confused and terrified about how things that there will be another Quebec referendum soon*

*Uh-huh. Take a Valium. No such possibility is possible*

*Why do you say that, O man?*

*Simple. If you think the residents of Medicine Hat and Sudbury are exhausted by referendums, you should see the residents of Quebec*

*Meaning?*

*Meaning that we were only emotionally drained at the thought of losing a country. They were torn between friends, family members on different sides, a dreadful atmosphere to one wants to avoid but some time. Any separatist politician who suggested another vote in the near future would be stupid*

*You're certain of that?*

*In the Days of Yore?*

*Well, you know, I don't think Jean Chretien came out of this Period of Pontine scene, like the maiden had to the railway tracks, looking very good*

*He looked like a frightened kid on TV. He's the first francophone Prime Minister in our 136-year-old history (and you know that Canada is the third-oldest federation in the world) who can't carry Quebec. His own riding voted Yes*

*So what's this mean, mighty one?*

*It means that we—especially Western Canada—can write off the current chances of trying for a second term in '94*

*And who might be succeeding him?*

*Paul Martin proved he has a far easier first diagnosis "million jobs at risk" threat. Allan Rock, who would seem to have all the creditable good hair and teeth for '97—has lost ground nationally with his Toronto-centric gun-control bill*

*More names, please*

*Sheila Copps will try of course. But she's*

*Vaccovover and wea and wa her*

*So?*

*Saint Lucien did it on a 45-minute nap from Paris to London. That's with work. True reason:*

*Sounds wonderful to me*

*Think again. She married Canada's ambassador to France. Set down every night at a Paris banquet next to the foreign minister of Spain. Or the finance minister of Italy.*

*What's wrong with that?*

*Nothing. Except that she has spent the past two years in church basements in Chicoutimi listening to the same speech for the 33rd time. It ain't too glamorous*

*She isn't out?*

*Yes. She's had one close brush with His Mother. He has two small kids who want to be American. He has a tough decision to make.*

*And this means, tellable one?*

*It means that everyone should shut up for a while. While the diminished PM attempts to regain the high ground, the only man to come out of this with honor is Jean Charest, who seemed a calm and wise figure amid his elders, who were flourishing like guys caught in quicksand*

*Who else distinguished himself?*

*Oh, certainly Preston Manning and Clyde Wells. They resembled deranged types yelling "Fire" in a crowded movie theatre. When we needed status men, they descended into whining schoolboys*

*So there's no hope?*

*Of course there is. The separatists, advised of the "white race" and "yellow" statements of their two leaders, will take some time to regroup, recover and atone for the comments that, truthfully, lie at the bottom of their dreams*

*And that would be?*

*That would be that Quebec is becoming a diminishing portion of the population of Canada, and the poor labor portion of the Quebec population, due to the second lowest birthrate in the world and increasing immigration, is shrinking also. Lebelier Jack Burnham and Saint Lucien know this. That is why they blathered out the truth, Jack Daniels or not involved*

*This is amazing wisdom, but I'm not sure what it all means*

*What it all means is that every lawyer is going to grow even more rich in the constitutional arguments glow on, even to the next century it will never end*

*Gee, Dr. Foth, you're certainly here able to muddy the description*

*It's the least I could do.*



least. She gives a thrill a bad name. Brian Tobin is suddenly encouraged again, with the Chretien face-out. You've noticed something about him, have you?

What would that be?

Captain Canada, since repelling the Spanish Armada and saving the valiant turbot, has dropped his John Cranston-like Newfie accent. Listen to him on the tube. Most remarkable.

So he's going to win?

Worse. Frank McKenna, the strong from New Brunswick with the squeaky voice, remains the best bet.

And Saint Lucien will save Quebec from the "money" (read Westmount Rindmann and Jans) and the "olive tree" (read Montreal's Machine Gun Show)?

You've got to realize something about Mrs. Bouchard. It's one thing to sit down beside a beautiful young California blond on a five-hour flight from Toronto to



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